TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. IX.

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OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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[It will be quite understood that this Council does not hold itself responsible for the opinions of the individual writers whose papers are included in this or any other of the volumes of the Transactions of the Society.]

PREFACE.

THE Council having, with the aid of the Publishing Committee, at last succeeded in carrying the present volume through the press, regret the delay in its production, and are fully aware of its other shortcomings. Their apology is, that part of the papers only came into their possession during the early months of the present year, and that the remainder, having escaped notice among the multifarious records of the Society during their late transference, have but quite recently come to hand. This has, in some instances, interfered with the chronological sequence of the papers; which would, had circumstances permitted, have been printed in the order in which they were read.

The Council wish to call the attention of the Society to the fact that they especially desire to encourage *original investigations.*

Many papers that are extremely valuable for purposes of debate, and highly interesting to those present at the evening meetings, are not entirely suited for publication in the Transactions, which should contain such papers only as are desirable for future reference.

It is requested that papers intended for reading at the monthly meetings be sent to the Hon. Secretary at least one month previously to the date at which they are proposed to be read, in order that they may be submitted to the Council or referees appointed by them. This will greatly facilitate the work of the Publishing Committee.

The appended Roll of Fellows (with addresses) is believed to be correct ; but if any error be discovered, early intimation to the Hon. Secretary will oblige.

For the laborious and too often unappreciated task of preparing an Index, the Society is indebted to Mr. J. H. Chapman, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

LONDON, *May* 5, 1881.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

PREFACE iii

LIST OF FELLOWS xi

THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY, INAUGURAL ADDRESS By GUSTAVUS GEORGE ZERFFI, ESQ., PHD., F.R.S.L. . 1

THE PERSECUTION UNDER ELIZABETH. By JOHN H. CHAPMAN, M.A., F.S.A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, and of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law 21

ON THE ACTOR LISTS, 1578—1642. By F. G. FLEAY, M.A. 44

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE, MORE PARTICULARLY IN ITS BEARINGS UPON ENGLISH COMMERCE. By CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.I.A. F.S.S., F.R. Hist. Soc. 82

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DUBRAVIUS, BISHOP OF OLMUTZ, 1542—1553. By the Rev. ALBERT H. WRATISLAW, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc., Fellow of the Royal Society of Bohemia. 137

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE WEST, FROM CHARLEMAGNE *(Transitio Imperii)* TO THE ERA OF THE CRUSADES (AND CONCORDAT, 1122). By the Rev. W. J. IRONS, D.D., BAMPTON LECTURER, 1870, PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S, F.R. Hist. Soc. 152

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SWEDEN. By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A. 174

NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE GERMAN WEIMARIAN ARMY TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S. . 216

DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By GEORGE HARRIS, ESQ., LL.D., F.S.A. 224

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The principal objects of the Society are :—

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IV. To publish translations of standard historical works.

V. To hold monthly meetings for the reading and discussion of papers on historical subjects.

VI. To publish a selection of the papers read. This has been done, hitherto, by *annual* publications of the Transactions of the Society, of which nine volumes have been printed. "The New Series" of the publications of the "Royal Historical Society" will shortly be issued in QUARTERLY PARTS, containing papers by the Fellows, and BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES of the more important English and foreign historical publications.

VII. To grant from time to time prizes for Historical Essays.

The Society's Library is open to Fellows from 10 o'clock A.M. to 4 o'clock P.M., except on Saturdays, when it closes at 2 o'clock

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The Annual Subscription to the Society is One Guinea per annum, and is payable to the Treasurer on the first day of the session, viz. 1st of November. The Entrance Fee at present is One Guinea.

The Monthly Meetings are held in the Society's Rooms, 22, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, London, W., at 8 o'clock P.M., every *third* THURSDAY of the month, from NOVEMBER to JUNE inclusive. Fellows are supplied with Order-books to enable them to admit friends to the meetings.

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The Historical Society of New York.
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
The Academy of Arts and Sciences, Connecticut.
The Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
The Historical Society of Rhode Island.
The Historical Society of Virginia, Richmond.
The Historical Society of Maryland.
The Historical Society of Missouri.
The Historical Society of Minnesota.
The Historical Society of South Carolina.
The Historical Society of Vermont.
The Historical Society of Michigan.
The Historical Society of New Jersey.
The Historical Society of Maine.

AUSTRALIA.

The Royal Society of New South Wales.

AUSTRIA.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

The Royal Society of Science and Arts, Brussels.

BOHEMIA.

The Royal Society of Bohemia, Prague.

CANADA.

The Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

DENMARK.

The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

FRANCE.

The Ethnographical Society of Paris.

GERMANY.

The Historical Society of Berlin.

ITALY.

The State Archives of Tuscany.

PORTUGAL.

The Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

RUSSIA.

The Imperial Archæological Society, St. Petersburg.

SPAIN.

The Royal Historical Society, Madrid.
The National Archæological Society, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

The Society of Antiquaries of Sweden, Stockholm.
The Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities, Stockholm.

TASMANIA.

The Royal Society of Tasmania.
The Harlean Society.
The Surrey Archæological Society.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By GUSTAVUS GEORGE ZERFFI, Esq., Ph.D., F.R.S.L.,
CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL.

Read 13th November, 1879.

Six years ago I had the pleasure of reading a paper "On the Possibility of a strictly Scientific Treatment of Universal History," and that which was at that time a mere suggestion, has since become a firm conviction, based on indefatigable study, and the collection of innumerable facts.

When called upon at the first meeting of the Council of the Royal Historical Society this session, to read an inaugural paper before the Fellows, I thought I could not do better than bring this conviction before you, so as, if possible, to make it your own.

I have had the satisfaction of lecturing during the last six years to, at least, 45,576 persons, and this proves that there is an increasing demand for the supply of historical knowledge. Six years ago there were 303 Fellows on the rolls of this Society; we have since increased more than a hundred per cent. and more than doubled our income; all this shows, if statistical facts are of any value, that the first Royal Historical Society of England has made some progress. I am, however,

sorry to say that a deplorable neglect of the study of General History is still only too evident. Not one of our large influential and wealthy seats of learning includes "General History" in its "curriculum," as a subject in which candidates for University honours ought to be examined.

The "British Association" sternly and obstinately refuses to give "General History" a special section, denying history a scientific status. Whilst Japanese scholars in the farthest East feel the necessity of the study of history, we, the first and most powerful nation, are still afraid of it, or treat it as the fanciful crotchet of some whimsical dreamer. We allow papers to be read at our great annual gatherings, "for the promotion of science," on bees, ants, and dogs, on their ways and manners; their high artistic powers; their intellectual faculties and social organization; their moral sense of duty, and deep feeling of gratitude; but man—the crowning product of Creation—the maker of his own destiny, is considered unworthy of a strictly scientific treatment.

In Germany, Austro-Hungary, Italy, France and America, HISTORY is at all the Colleges and Universities the most important subject, and with us, it is the most neglected. And yet history is the mighty record of God's True Revelation, for His spirit manifests itself as law in the religious, social, political, and artistic deeds of man, the active or passive agent of the histories of all countries, races and nations.

Man consists of *matter*, forming the constituent particles of his body; and of *mind*, the cause of his perceptions, sensations and consciousness. If we are able to treat matter and mind in the unit-man scientifically, what can prevent us from treating the collective actions of any number of such units in a scientific way? If anatomy, physiology and psychology are sciences, why not history, which is but a systematized record of man's individual and collective development? If man in his isolation as savage or prehistoric man, in anthropology and archæology, may be treated scientifically, why not the whole of humanity in history? Do the laws of causation apply to everything in nature, except to man, so

soon as he leaves his savage state, and enters, in accordance with his very organization, into social bonds, no longer acting isolatedly but collectively as family, tribe, or nation? Action which we can trace in man, like in all other phenomena, must be the result of *force;* and wherever forces are at work, they must be subject to laws which may be more or less complicated but which we ought to be able to trace on the reliable basis of causation.

All our physical sciences are founded on an inquiry into the working of acting and counteracting forces. Can we deny man to be a physically constituted being, whose organization engenders mental action, the outgrowth of his vital force? Motion or action is the sign of life; life in man is the primary cause of all his thoughts, words and deeds. All phenomena in the universe are the results of either a static or dynamic force, or of a combination of both. The former manifests itself as the law of conservation of energy; the latter as the ever-varying force of moving activity. Applying these elements to humanity we find that *morals* correspond to the *static*, restraining, corrective force, which is in fact the *passive* element in our nature. Moral laws are generally given in the *negative* form; whilst mind with its intellectual and reasoning power is undoubtedly the *dynamic*, pushing, inquiring, thinking, arguing, inventing force—the *active* element; for all human efforts in arts, sciences, discoveries and inventions are of a *positive* nature. To trace the working of these two undoubtedly existing forces in the development of humanity must be the task of history, and we may thus scientifically reduce all the complicated phenomena of history to a *plus* or *minus* of their relative qualities and quantities.

As the universe strives to attain harmony, and as all its infinite particles work to this aim—so the historian finds that humanity endeavours unconsciously or consciously to reach one goal—civilization, which can only be the attainment of a perfect balance between the static and dynamic, or the moral and intellectual forces working in humanity.

The whole study of history, from a higher general and

scientific point of view, resolves itself into a correct tracing of the disturbances in the two forces. All the phenomena in the flowing and ebbing ocean of the past and present; all religious, social, political, artistic and scientific events, may philosophically be referred to a conflict of morals with intellect, or of intellect with morals. Wars, revolutions, the downfall of empires, changes in dynasties, religious and scientific controversies, are simply endeavours to re-adjust and discover the equipoise between the static and dynamic forces, pervading not only the material universe, but also intellectual, self-conscious humanity.

In history, as throughout nature, there is a certain *oneness*, engendered by the law of causation to which the forces working in humanity are as subject as all other forces, but there is at the same time an eternal change and life—an expanding life, that is never to-day what it was yesterday; that, in spite of thousands of survivals in savage prejudices, and inherited false notions, continually extends, drawing larger numbers into the vortex of a self-conscious life of higher moral and mental culture.

It is still thought extremely doubtful in certain quarters, whether Ethics and Æsthetics can be brought *à priori* under fixed rules and be reduced to first principles; history as the "Science of Sciences" *à posteriori* gains in tracing these first principles in importance and power day by day. In fact everything in the development of humanity resolves itself into history. Not history that receives its garbled facts from narrow-minded Annalists, Chroniclers and Compilers; who generally note down only what serves their purposes; leave out what does not suit them; colour incidents with the gloomy tints and views of their sectarian, national, political, or social prejudices;—but history based on the eternal cosmical laws of man's true and undefiled nature. For nature is truth which does not exclusively reveal itself to the inner consciousness of some chosen metaphysician, or the untutored thoughtlessness of the savage, but speaks audibly and intelligibly through the mighty voice of history, forcing man from the lofty height of

speculations to the firm ground of reality, showing eternal law in his gradual development. "The History of mankind is a continuation of the Natural History of the Universe, and must have discoverable laws," says Dr. Maudsley, one of the keenest thinkers of our times.

More than 2,000 years ago, Aristotle attempted to systematize the study of poetry and even that of art, by tracing laws in the products of playful imagination; but the study and composition of history is still left to mere *Chance*, whether clad in the garb of self-interest, religious prejudice or political expediency, and whether called Providence or Predestination. "Chance has been recognised alike in all ages and in all climes; by the peasant in his cottage, and by the king on his throne. Chance is apparently the mainspring of industry, of trade, of party politics, and of international diplomacy." But this assumption of chance, this radical *belief* in chance (Predestination or Providence), is virtual *unbelief* in universal order, producing self-deception, and a negation of all moral law, for it does away with the fundamental element of science, and a strict concatenation of cause and effect. History, studied or written from the providential chance point of view, is certainly nothing but an unconnected, and therefore dry register of detached facts which might have happened quite differently, if it had so pleased chance. But the most important duty of an Historian is to show to conviction that the facts could not have happened differently, and that, if the same causes were to be at work, they would inevitably again produce the same effects.

The palm of having attempted to place history on a higher scientific basis must be given to the German, SAMUEL PUFENDORF (1632—1690), who laid down the principles of European international law, illustrated by historical facts and statistical records, in his great work, "Elementa Juris prudentiæ Universalis," published 1660. Pufendorf's works are still considered of great importance, and though he intended to write for diplomatists only, starting from a strictly practical and political point of view, they must be

looked upon as the first after the Reformation in which the composition of history was attempted on new and scientific principles. Assisted by the generous Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, Pufendorf established the first special chair for the study of "National and Natural Law based on History" in the University of Heidelberg. This was 1661—218 years ago, and he must be put down as the founder of "Sociology," which science begins to be timidly mentioned now in our educational establishments.

Chronologically next to Pufendorf stands the Italian, GIOVANNI BATTISTA VICO (1660 or 1670—1744), who, 65 years after the publication of Pufendorf's great work, issued his "Principles of History" in 1725, under the title "Principij di una scienza nuova d'interno alla comune natura delle nazioni." In this work he pleaded the necessity of a more philosophical method in the composition of history, and propounded the theory that there is an organic development in the different epochs which can only be understood through a correct knowledge of the social and political condition of any nation; the most important condition, the religious, he could not well touch upon under Papal authority. Yet in a broad spirit he endeavoured to trace evidences of a moral government all over the world, and assumed that there is an interdependence between cause and effect in the complex actions of man; that justice and progress are the results of ruling forces, and that our intellectual and political life is guided by a harmony of feelings which pervades the whole of humanity.

He was followed in England by Viscount BOLINGBROKE (1672—1751), who published ten years later, 1735, his "Letters on the Study and Use of History." How far Pufendorf and Bolingbroke's earlier works influenced Vico, or how far Pufendorf and Vico were instrumental in the composition of Bolingbroke's work on history, it would be equally difficult to decide. It is an historical fact that Bolingbroke was the forerunner of VOLTAIRE in France, and of LESSING and HERDER in Germany. Whatever the failings of his character may have been, they were the failings of his social position and education;

he saw and felt deeply that the minds of students were stored "with crude, unruminated facts and sentences," with meaningless dates and arbitrarily assumed incidents, obscuring, rather than clearing up past events. He deprived Scaliger, Bochart, Petavius, Usher, and even Marsham of their bright halo of authority; he mercilessly exposed the tricks of these "historical jugglers," and asserted boldly that they had joined disjointed passages, and used fantastical allegories as real facts, and similitudes of sounds, though utterly ignorant of philology, to prop up their preconceived historical systems. With a few words he unmasked the pompous dignitaries of learning, and had, of course, the whole herd of scholastics against him. They saw danger in the study of "General History," and up to our own days have succeeded in excluding it from our educational establishments.

What is the use of History? To disturb the mind of youth; to arouse a spirit of inquiry, and to undermine time-hallowed authorities. We cannot trade better, sleep, eat and drink more efficaciously with any amount of historical knowledge, and who is to master all the dates and facts of history? Bolingbroke endeavoured to answer these objections, in comparing two great captains in history, the courageous Lucullus, who was made great by the study of history, and the Duke of Marlborough, who probably never read Xenophon, or any other historian. The former became a military genius through historical training, and the latter, who triumphed over the veteran armies of France, was a born military genius. The Roman commander had on his side experience cultivated by study; whilst Marlborough had inborn genius united with skill, acquired by actual practice. Study does not lessen genius, but genius can do without study, is the conclusion to which the generality of mankind must come from these examples. "But such examples are very rare," says Bolingbroke, "and when they happen, it will still be true, that they could have had fewer blemishes, and would have come nearer to perfection of private and public virtue in all the arts of peace and achievements of war, if the views of such men had

been enlarged, and their sentiments ennobled, by acquiring that cast of thought and the temper of mind which will grow up and become habitual in every man who applies himself early to the study of history."

Whilst history, in spite of the brilliant part England has played in the world's commercial, political, and scientific development, and the great isolated historians, like Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, and Hallam, which she had produced, still remains neglected, because we have not yet altogether freed ourselves from those insular barriers which prevent us from extending our sympathies to all nations and races, to all creeds and denominations—the French have used history one-sidedly for national and political purposes.

MONTESQUIEU was constructive; VOLTAIRE destructive; and ROUSSEAU socialistic in the treatment of history; they all three broke with the past; they all three saw it superseded by a yet unknown future; they felt the terribly disturbed state of the moral and intellectual forces in the French nation, and attempted to restore the balance, or through its more equitable readjustment to transform France; but intolerant priests, bigoted aristocratic idlers, ignorant teachers of inherited falsehoods, quarrelling Jesuits, debating Jansenists, debauched official villains—all of them ignorant of history—prevented the restoration of the lost balance of forces, and they had to learn through torrents of blood, and the sacrifice of more than a million and a half of murdered human beings, what they had refused to learn from Greek and Roman History; the long list of sanguinary deeds, recorded in Mediæval History; the Thirty Years' War, &c.

Not the wild, ignorant, bloodthirsty rebels or the fanatical demagogues can be condemned by true and honest historians, but the blind aristocrats, bureaucrats, priests, monks, and bigot who neglected their education and drove them to despair and madness, and who, instead of studying history, and learning from the past lessons to guide the destinies of the people, abused, vilified and cursed those who recognised the disturbed state of the balance of forces in the French people, and tried

to readjust it. They ought to have known the causes which, more than a century before, had produced the Grand Remonstrance in England, with all its deplorable but wholesome consequences. Those also who wished to cure the political evils in France, ignorant of history, allowed themselves to be carried away by the excitable and impatient character of the masses. In a truly French spirit all was exaggerated. Martyrs were looked down upon as individuals that *expected* death; whilst fanatical "sans-culottes" were glorified because they *rushed* into death. A feverish longing for a speedy change in religion, political and social relations, burst asunder all the ties of society. The religiously blind were suddenly to see, and the politically deaf and dumb to hear and to speak. A normal historical development in an atmosphere of passion, ignorance, and superstition is impossible when national pride and wild fanaticism rule supreme. When nations sing hymns, whether pious or revolutionary, Klio, the sober muse of history, retires and awaits a less emotional moment to make her voice heard.

The French in general have not yet learnt to write history. They always treat facts from a one-sided national point of view; just as the English, from a one-sided sectarian, political, party, or merely municipal point of view.

THIERS wrote an analysis of the Republic to prove the necessity of the Empire which followed, and to teach the French that the only possible government was that at the head of which he at last found himself as President, namely, a republic, which began its career with the slaughter of more than a million of human beings. His masterly histories of "the Consulate" and "the Empire," describing the glorious victories, the waste of national treasure, self-sacrificing enthusiasm, and human life, all ending in the melancholy captivity and exile of the originator and instigator of, and principal actor in this anachronistic Imperial Roman tragedy, ought to have opened the eyes of all the vain-glorious, politically attitudinizing French comedians—if they had studied history scientifically. But the leaders, or rather mis-leaders,

of France started with the false notion that they might use powder and shot to play at Roman Emperors, Consuls, and Prætors, conquering half the world. Had they carefully read the records of the past, they would have prevented the last spurious and still more anachronistic performance of the second Franco-Roman Empire. So long as the French do not study, write, read, and teach history from an *objective*, and purely scientific point of view, they will have no stability, and no settled social and political organization. Like the Romans who would not understand that there could be nations who did not deem it an honour to be Romans, the French cannot see that there are countries beside their own, and human beings that have the inherited natural right to defend themselves victoriously, especially if wantonly attacked.

Another example of French historical one-sidedness is found in GUIZOT, who was literally raised from the historical lecture hall to the highest State dignities in France, showing how amply talent, study, and industry on the field of literature are rewarded in a country that is always alive to the charms of intellect, wit, and rhetorical power, if used to flatter national prejudices and vanity. In all his writings Guizot was always the exclusive Frenchman, and could never understand the mighty cosmopolitan spirit of the Teutonic nations. In his "History of the English Revolution," however, he attained the position of an impartial judge, and is even more trustworthy than many an English writer, for he stands high above party spirit and theological bias, taking neither the views of a High or Low churchman, nor of a dissenting Puritan. Guizot, to a certain degree, was a philosophical historian, and considered civilization the aim of nations in particular, and of humanity in general; but, unhappily, the most complete of all civilizations in his eyes was that of France, though he never tells us clearly what he means by the word civilization. He finds fault with the English because they are genial, but unsystematic, like their language. He considers everything in England practical, but bigoted and narrow-minded, and asserts that the English people have contributed nothing

towards an extension of the horizon of human intellect. He must have forgotten Francis Lord Bacon, Sir Isaac Newton, Hooker, Chillingworth, Shakespeare, Milton, Locke, Hume, and the long list of deistic writers of England, the fathers of modern freethought and free inquiry. "The English," he says, "are great as a nation, but not as individuals." In this one epigrammatic sentence we may recognise the distorted Franco-Roman spirit, swaying French logicians and historians, who look upon the State abstraction as an entity without ever taking the individual citizens and their interests into consideration. Guizot speaks of the grandeur of a nation, and at the same time denies the existence of grandeur in the individuals who compose the nation. Because the English have learnt, in spite of their insisting upon individual freedom, to act in common whenever required, Guizot blames them, and extols his compatriots who have not yet freed themselves of a very primitive tribal egotism, and abhor to act in common when their vanity does not serve as the mainspring of their combined action. Dialectical sophistry in the annals of history has done more harm than correct reasoners can readily make good. If the whole be iron or steel, the particles must be iron or steel also. The Roman spirit, mode of thinking and rhetoric have gradually pervaded modern French thought through an undue admiration and mimicry of ancient Rome, and a culpable neglect of the study of history. The refined discernment and the quick emotional instinct of the spirited French have thus been directed into a false groove of historical reasoning; so long as the French do not divest themselves of their exclusively French mode of thinking, we must look upon their historical works and historians as national curiosities and peculiarities; but we shall seek in vain for true scientific historians amongst them.

The activity of the French on the field of history was surpassed by the Germans, who have gained the palm of excellence in every branch of historiography. Like the ancient Greeks, the Germans were forced through their geographical position to devote themselves to the culture of intellect, for

they were politically checked in the exercise of all broader social and commercial activity. The historical development of Germany was slow, but sure. It was not so brilliant as that of England, but profounder; it was not so spirited as that of France, but more systematic. At a time when the English and French possessed unsurpassed classical writers in their vernaculars, the Germans were still struggling for a common language. The learned spoke and wrote Latin; the upper classes conversed in French; whilst the lower prattled in innumerable unintelligible dialects. The Reformation wrought extraordinary changes, not only in a religious but also in a lingual direction. To oppose Romanism and its Latinizing influences, enthusiastic divines composed popular hymns, homilies, tales, fables, and sermons in the language of the people; they continued what LUTHER had begun, to model and remodel the German language, and brought it into a more harmonious and settled grammatical form. From the time of the Reformation history became the most important study of the German nation. The old formulæ and most of the dogmas of the Romish church had been based on prophecy, revelation, tradition, and history. The apostolic succession was either true or a fiction; Isidor's Decrees were either a fact or an historical forgery; the whole theologico-dogmatic fabric; the whole social and political organization of all the Christian nations in general, and of the German people in particular, was therefore built on history, either true or false. If true, the Reformation had no basis; if false, the Reformation had to disperse the historical mist, the dark clouds and gloomy night obscuring truth, and to endeavour to ascertain real facts upon which to reconstruct Christianity.

These circumstances forced theologians above all to criticise, to inquire into, and to study the past from a more correct historical point of view. Whilst in England the Anglican establishment was a continuation of the Roman Catholic Church, and only involved a formal change of some dogmatic details and ceremonials; the Reformation in Germany was a

direct cataclysm that swept away an ancient, spiritual, religious, and educational world, built up for more than 1500 years on a basis, the correctness of which was not only to be doubted, but the hollowness of which was to be demonstrated on historical grounds.

When in England king, lords, and commons once had agreed to be Anglicans, Anglicanism became an accomplished political fact, protected by endless parliamentary bills, and the Church, thus strengthened, required no support either from learned inquiry or history. The continuity was neither interrupted nor broken, and was therefore not to be sought for and reconstructed on a firm historical foundation. This was quite different in Germany. Protestantism had to work its way into the hearts and brains of the people by means of persuasion, deep learning, and, above all, by a higher moral and intellectual force which was stimulated to continuous activity by an equally learned body of antagonists—the Romish priests—who were not silenced by *penal laws*, but appeared in the arena of learning as Jesuits, Benedictines, and a number of other monastic associations, and continued to teach, to argue, and to engage in historical, classical, and philosophical controversies. The struggle of the modern intellectual progress in Germany was a free and genuine war, no longer on sanguinary battle-fields with guns and cannons, but in lecture halls, pulpits, and ponderous learned books, where no human blood, but printer's ink was shed in incredible quantities, to foster peace and a higher spiritual life in the people.

HISTORY was the great weapon on both sides; written or unwritten, sacred or profane. Facts had to be newly studied and investigated, and their causes and effects in the past had to be traced on different principles. This led to a deeper inquiry into historical authorities, and aroused an unparalleled enthusiasm for history in the middle classes and religious sects. In Germany kings, princes, and dukes took only a moderate interest in the gigantic movement, to arrest the progress of which they were powerless. The smallness of their dominions made it easy for any learned critic or historian

whose sceptical ideas were considered objectionable in one state, to find refuge, and often the very highest honours in another.

When the celebrated philosopher, Christian Wolf, delivered a lecture at Halle: "De Philosophia Sinensium Morali" (on the moral philosophy of the Chinese), in which he asserted that Christian ethics and Chinese morals were the same, though Confucius lived nearly five centuries before Christ, Professor Wolf was ordered in 1723—156 years ago—to quit the dominions of the first King of Prussia on peril to be hanged if found twenty-four hours after the issue of the order within the frontiers of the Prussian kingdom. He went over to Cassel, where he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Marburg.

The spirit of critical inquiry in the Germans was not to be checked or tired out. It has just been shown that the greater historical activity in general originated in theological and scholastic requirements, and was kept in continual motion by a wholesome controversial energy which engaged the whole thinking and reasoning powers of the German nation.

As the geographical position is a most important factor in the development of the character of a nation, I will now refer more particularly to those territorial causes which necessitated a broader and more correct study of history in Germany. Encircled by Russians, Sclavons, Poles, Magyars, Servians, Croatians, Italians, French, Belgians, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Livonians, and Courlanders, the Germans were forced to know something of the customs and manners, mode of living and thinking, reasoning and acting of these different peoples, all of whom were often seen as unwelcome guests, sword in hand, on the banks of the Spree, the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, the Danube, or in the plains of central Germany in villages and towns, plundering and murdering; though the Germans could neither understand their languages, nor discover why they came to disturbe the peace of the fatherland. Thus they were practically forced to study the history, origin, and languages of at least the most important of

these invading nations. This was a further cause of the universality of learning prevailing in Germany. There is *not a single* historical work of any importance, written in any European or Asiatic language, that is not translated into German. I wish I could say the same of the English literature. All the classical and more prominent historical works of the Chinese and Japanese, Persians, Indians, and Arabs are commented upon and brought into systematic order. All that had been written worth reading and studying on Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and the Jews by French, Italian, English, and native authors exists in German, augmented by a vast amount of original research, carefully arranged. Philological, mythical, religious, and historical similarities or differences are pointed out, analogies and comparisons are drawn with courageous impartiality. No historical phenomenon—and nations are mere embodiments of the phenomena of history—has been treated by the Germans as insignificant. Through a classical and philosophical training they acquired a deeper insight into the astounding sameness of human nature. In spiritual contact with all the religious sects and nationalities of the world, they could not help seeing that each nation, each religious sect had good and bad, wise and foolish, learned and ignorant members; but that in all of them the virtuous and the generous prevailed, and this sentiment pre-eminently qualified the Germans for writing history. They broke through the artificial barriers of tribal exclusiveness and national egotism. Only such a people can boast of true historians, who above all require broad minds and large hearts.

In this spirit wrote the genial Gotthold Ephraim LESSING (1729-1781), who boldly attacked antiquated traditions, prejudices, and fallacies. He proclaimed the grand doctrine of *tolerance*, not as a mere emotional element, but as the only possible foundation of the higher culture of humanity. To put an end to sham learning and historical falsifications was the great aim of Lessing.

He was supported by the poetical Johann Gottfried HERDER (1744-1803), who in his writings was always refined and above

all *humane*. He was the founder of humanism no longer in the scholastic, but in the true sense of the word. He was the first to point out the importance of physical geography in connection with history. He drew the attention of students to the configuration of the different countries, inhabited by different nations; to the influence of plants and vegetable products; of animals and animal food on the formation of the character of tribes and races, and to man in his bodily and mental organization. He assumed man to be created for immortality and hope, for virtue and truth. He must be further considered the founder of ethnology, in a higher scientific sense, for he discourses on the various organizations of the people inhabiting the highlands or plains of Asia; of the Africans; the islanders in the tropics, and the American aborigines. He was anxious to discard chance; and attempted to treat history with an universal grasp, never before attained by any other writer.

Johann Gottlieb FICHTE (1762-1814) worked out Herder's principles, and asserted history to be the safest and the most impressive, the truest and only reliable teacher of humanity. He was, however, in every branch of speculative and practical science far surpassed by Immanuel KANT (1724-1804), who in his plan of a "general history from a cosmopolitan point of view" (Idee zu einer Allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht, 1784) laid down with masterly clearness the distinction between opinions, faith, and knowledge. History in France is a matter of opinion, biassed by national pride; in England a matter of faith, fostered by inherited prejudices or coloured by party-spirit; and in Germany a matter of knowledge based on fearless research, and a correct understanding of the causes producing the different historical phenomena.

Kant's method of treating physical, moral, and historical subjects brought about a total revolution in the system of our studies. On his principles Schelling, Stahl, Hegel, William von Humboldt, Schlegel, and Gervinus attempted, with more or less success, to solve the great problem of a scientific treatment of history.

To consider general history as the best means to promote the highest culture of our mind, to arouse our true moral nature, to prevent all stagnation in science and politics, and to make us worthy of the position which we occupy as self-conscious human beings, is the earnest endeavour of all those who have made humanity, and not minerals, chemical substances, plants and animals, cats and dogs, or ants and caterpillars, their exclusive study. Let *specialists* believe in the importance of their particular pursuits, but let them not undervalue the glorious efforts of philosophical *generalizers*, who bring into order and system their detached researches, promoting real civilization.

It will interest you to hear that more than 336 independent, original, historical *standard* works have been published in Germany during this century, and altogether about 6,288 works, making, on an average, 82 historical publications per annum. Amongst the writers are the names of Moser, J. v. Müller, Eichhorn, Heeren, Bohlen, Pölitz, Rotteck, Schlosser, Arndt, Weber, Becker, Gesenius, Neander, Tuch, Dahlman, Niebuhr, Curtius, Lepsius, Mommsen, Ranke, Görres, Hormayer, Pfister, Sybel, Lassen, Uhlmann, Spiegel, Max Müller, &c.; each of them a host of learning and free inquiry in himself.

I think every one who tells us of our shortcomings, though we may not like it, does us a real service. We shall never be able to remedy evils, if we are not made acquainted with them. It is of no use to boast *we are making history;* let the Germans study it, but let us ponder over the possibility, how much better we would make history, if we had the same historical training as the Germans. It is only a very short time ago, since 1851, when the genius of the lamented Prince Consort destroyed for ever our insular and mere tribal position, that we began to realize the fact that we are, after all, but completing particles of a whole—Humanity. In opening to the inspection of all nations the artistic and industrial products of the world, the word "international" dawned upon us, for the first time, in all its glorious meaning. Timidly we

began to quit our oystershells of national pride and prejudices; reluctantly we discarded our narrow and sectarian pretensions, and our doleful contempt for everything intellectual beyond our island. We were suddenly enabled to discriminate between true national greatness, and mere national presumption. We saw ourselves far behind others. We instituted Schools of Art, and, only nine years ago, forced the youth of England into Board Schools, and established, about the same time, the first Royal Historical Society.

Any one who has studied the historical productions of the last fifteen or twenty years, must have observed the remarkable change that has come over the spirit of historical inquiry in England. The Essayists and Reviewers, Macaulay, Bishop Colenso, Dean Stanley, Carlyle, Principals Tulloch and Caird, Buckle, Lecky, J. R. Green, &c., have infused new life into history, and ventured fearlessly on new paths of independent research.

In politics, commerce, industry, use of inventions, and a progressive social development, England, and England alone, is the country in which morals and intellect, stability and progress, monarchy and democracy, conservatism and liberalism, are, if not perfectly, at all events, best balanced by means of our love of freedom and our practical realism. It is, therefore, our peremptory duty consistently to strive to make England stand at the head of all nations in independent historical inquiry and research; for the more nations study history, the more they become acquainted with the causes of the commotions and volcanic throes in other countries, the more surely will they be able to master and altogether to avoid them. "War and its horrors will gradually disappear, private and national rights will be better understood, tyranny and oppression on the one hand, and popular revolutions and violence on the other, will be rendered powerless, and there will be established the incontrovertible truth that historical knowledge is real power." Historians have, unhappily, their defilers and opponents. Frederick SCHILLER, one of the greatest poets, when appointed (1789) Professor of General

History at the University of Jena, proved, in a masterly introductory lecture, not only the usefulness of history, but at the same time also pointed out the opposition which its study had to encounter. Metaphysicians and scientific pedants are its greatest enemies. They both hate reforms, they despise inquiry, and have a horror of comparisons and analogies. There is no more implacable enemy to progress, no more envious opponent of research, than the narrow-minded scholastic fanatic, the learned "ignoramus," who knows only too well that free inquiry must scatter his cherished assumptions to the winds as so many empty illusions. Trembling for their daily bread, dependent on antiquated, long-exploded chronological and historical fallacies, the bigoted everywhere obstruct the path of history. But the dynamic (intellectual) force of progress is continually and irresistibly at work, and drives us to seek for law in solar systems, in stars and nebulæ, crystallizations and chemical combinations; in plants and vegetables, the rays of the sun, the formation of the earth's crust, the very origin of the different species of animals. Everywhere we are indefatigable in tracing law and order. We find it in our statistical tables of births, marriages, and deaths; in the rise and fall of our stocks, bonds, railway and other shares. We have systematized "supply and demand" in trade and commerce. Only the variegated stages of man's moral and intellectual activity, as they present themselves in the different epochs of history, in different countries and nations under different circumstances—man, in fact, "with all his sublime yearnings, measuring suns and planets, speaking, by means of electricity, at distances of thousands of miles, reducing *space* in its dimensions; travelling, by means of fire and water, at an unheard-of speed, reducing *time* in its duration; man, in his slow and gradual historical development, is to be the least important of our studies, and no object of our scientific consideration."

The universe is ruled by gravitation, manifesting itself as attraction and repulsion. Harmony in the universe can only exist through a perfect balance of these two forces. Humanity

is ruled by consciousness, manifesting itself in morals and intellect, evolving, by a process of progressive continuity, a perfect balance between the two forces, in order to promote the happiness of the greatest possible number of human beings, driven by their very nature to form one common, loving brotherhood, enacting history, and striving to fulfil the true destiny of mankind, individually and collectively — to HUMANIZE HUMANITY.

THE PERSECUTION UNDER ELIZABETH.

By JOHN H. CHAPMAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law.

THIS subject has been ignored by the majority of writers of English history. Some have assumed that the unfortunate persons who suffered death and lesser penalties for their religion during this reign, were also guilty of what we should admit to be acts of treason against the State. This theory is not supported by facts. Modern research (and the word "modern," in this case, means that of the last ten or fifteen years) has proved beyond question the utter falsity of Coke's statement, "That in the reign of Elizabeth there was put to death for religion not one." The most has been made of the persecution under Queen Mary, and the names of the sufferers have become as household words, yet even now but little is generally known of similar deeds that were done in the reign of her sister.

In the first place, the Penal Acts speak for themselves.

Secondly, there are many well-authenticated cases of persons having been indicted under these Acts, condemned, and executed, without any act of treason having been even alleged, still less proved, against them at their respective trials, other than the fictitious treason created by the statutes.

Thirdly, there was the merciless system of fines for recusancy which was adopted by the Queen's Government.

The chief statutes affecting Catholics were these:—

The 1st of Eliz., c. 1, which prohibited anyone from maintaining the jurisdiction of the Pope by word, deed, or act under penalties—

For the 1st offence, of forfeiture of all goods and chattels;
For the 2nd, of præmunire;
For the 3rd, of death and forfeiture, as in high treason.

Chapter 2 enacts the compulsory use of the Book of Common Prayer in all cathedrals, parish churches, and chapels, and even protects it from adverse criticism under penalties—for the 1st offence, of a fine of 100 marks (£363 of our money); for the 2nd, 400 marks (£1,452) and one year's imprisonment; for the 3rd, of forfeiture of all goods and chattels, with imprisonment for life. To this is added:—For non-attendance at church, a fine of 12d. (equal to 5s.) for each default.

This Act, passed in the first year of her reign, is of itself sufficient to place the Queen and her advisers in the position of persecutors for religion. With much ingenuity it is aimed at two cardinal points of the religion of Catholics: the unity of the Church and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Its framers knew well that no Catholic subject could obey it with a clear conscience. Bad, however, as it is, it was extended, both as to its application and to its penalties, by that of the 5th of Eliz., chapter 1, which adds a præmunire to the penalties of the former Act.

The judgment in a præmunire was to be out of the king's protection, lands, tenements, goods and chattels to be forfeited to the king (entailed lands but for life), and perpetual imprisonment (1 Inst., 129, 130); to be disabled as a witness (1 Inst., 6), or to bring any action (Littleton, 41).

The next Act of importance is that of 1571—the 13th of Eliz., c. 2—which forbids the putting in ure any bull, writing, or instrument from the See of Rome. This is to be held to be high treason; offenders, with their procurers, abettors, and even counsellors, are to suffer death, and the forfeiture of all lands, goods and chattels to the Queen. There is a somewhat remarkable provision in this Act: the bringing in of tokens or things called by the name of "Agnus Dei," crosses, pictures, beads, &c., from the Bishop of Rome, and giving them to any subject of the realm to be worn or used, is visited with the penalties of præmunire, both to giver and receiver, unless the receiver

gives notice of the fact within three days to a justice of the peace; and the justice incurs a præmunire if he does not also give notice to one of the Privy Council within fourteen days. It is difficult for us to conceive how these objects, now so frequently seen, could at any period have been deemed dangerous to the commonwealth, or to require the attention of the Queen's Government. The possession of them will be presently shown to have been a very serious matter.

By the 23rd Eliz, c. 1, to withdraw anyone from the State religion, or to be so withdrawn, is made high treason; to say mass is visited with a fine of 200 marks (£726) and imprisonment for one year, or until 200 marks are paid in addition; to hear mass, with a fine of 100 marks (£363) and one year's imprisonment. The penalty for non-attendance at church is raised from 12d. a week to £20 a lunar month, counting thirteen months to the year, £260 (or about £1,300 of our money).

The education of the young in the principles of the State Church is also provided for. Everyone who keeps a schoolmaster who is a recusant, and not licensed by the bishop of the diocese, shall pay a fine of £10 (£50) a month, and the master himself shall be imprisoned for one year.

With the view of adding to the force of the Act, the forfeitures are declared to be payable, not entirely to the Crown, but one-third to the Queen, one-third to the poor of the parish, and one-third to the informer. Thus these two last classes of persons were also made parties interested in its due execution, and active agents in the persecution.

The next Act (that of 1585), the 27th Eliz., c. 2, is an important one, for it is impossible for anyone without prejudice to regard it otherwise than as a persecuting Act. Every person (and English subjects were specially meant) who had been ordained priest or deacon beyond the seas, and who comes into the Queen's dominions, is to be dealt with as a traitor, and anyone receiving him, as a felon. This most oppressive enactment was not long permitted to remain upon the statute book without being put in force, for upon

the 19th of the following January, Nicholas Deverox als. Woodson, and Edward Barber, were condemned for being made priests in France, and two days later were hanged at Tyburn. In the following year two more priests, William Thompson and Richard Lea, were hanged, bowelled, and quartered. Under this Act, in 1588, at the Sessions Hall, Newgate, eight priests and six laymen were condemned, and executed two days later. These few instances merely serve to show that the Act was put in force at once; they are by no means the only persons who were indicted and executed under the 27th Eliz., c. 2.

The last Act worthy of note is that of 1598, the 35th Eliz., c. 2. This is directed more especially against the poorer class of subjects. It restricts such recusants to one place of abode under pain of forfeiture of goods and chattels, and in the case of a copyholder, of his copyhold. We must not suppose that the humbler class of people escaped the fine meshes of the Penal Acts: for Dr. Allen writes—"Such as be of the vulgar sort of honest husbandmen and artizans (of which condition great numbers be Catholics in our country), they not being able to pay that impious mass-mulct (*i.e.*, the 100 marks), much less the forfeiture for not coming to the Calvinists' preaches and service, are most cruelly and barbarously whipped in the open market-places, as both elsewhere, and specially of late in the city of Winchester they were so used. Others have their ears cut off, others burnt through the ear, and others of both sexes contumeliously and slavishly abused."—"Allen's Answer to the Libel of English Justice," p. 174.)

The form of submission to be made by a recusant was given in this Act, and commenced as follows:—I, A. B., do humbly confess and acknowledge that I have grievously offended God in contemning her Majesty's godly and lawful government and authority by absenting myself from church, and from hearing Divine Service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm, and I am heartily sorry for the same, &c. &c.

This was a most exacting form of submission, as appears

from the case of the Winchester blacksmith, reported in a letter to the rector of the English College at Rome, now printed in the appendix to the Douai Diary. This man had been frightened into attending church once, but he afterwards expressed his sorrow at having done so, and was therefore ordered to be flogged once a week till he went again. He told his judges that once a week was not sufficient to atone for the offence he had committed in going to church. In the words of the letter, "Parva enim est hæc pœna ad diluendum tantum peccatum quantum ego commisi in adeunda vestra demoniaca ecclesia."

This incident will show that the people regarded this enforced attendance at church as a serious strain upon their conscience, and how difficult it must have been for them to make the submission in the form prescribed by the statute. It is not possible to challenge the legality of the sentences under these Acts; what we may dispute is, their morality. If we are to regard only rules of positive law, Edmund Campion, and the rest of the Elizabethan martyrs, were guilty of treason. This is the line of argument that has been taken by some historians, much to the prejudice of their reputation for impartiality. Legality by them is made the equivalent of morality, and they practically say that, because Elizabeth prescribed a particular form of worship, and exacted a particular declaration of faith from her unwilling subjects, under the penalties of treason, therefore those who, as a matter of conscience, could neither use that form, nor make that declaration, are rightly to be deemed traitors to their queen and to their country.

If this be so, the same rules of positive law must be applied elsewhere. There could have been no persecution under Queen Mary for heresy, for the law, as it then stood, had clearly been broken; nor in the reign of Henry VIII., when men were required to think exactly as the king thought; nor even in the early church could there have been any martyrs, for the imperial Roman law was clearly against them. Thus, it comes to this—unless we are prepared to maintain the

position that those who suffered under Mary and Henry VIII., and even in early times, those who perished in the Roman Circus for the Christian faith were all law-breakers, and all traitors,—we must also, in the time of Elizabeth, make a distinction between bare legality and morality—we must admit that there may be such a thing from the point of view of morality as a legalized persecution. The number of those who suffered under these Penal Acts during the reign of Elizabeth is not stated by most historians, by others it has been given diversely. Lingard puts it at 147, Dodd in his Church history at 191, and Milner at 204. It is probable that none of these lists is in itself complete, and that modern research will yet add, especially in the provinces, other names to the catalogue of Elizabethan martyrs. This also applies to those who died in prison from the want of food, proper air, and warmth. Mr. Foley, in his recent valuable work, estimates the number of these persons at 130. A very eminent antiquary, the late Canon Raine, says of the northern prisons at an even later date than this:—"They were dens of iniquity and horror: the number of persons who died in them is positively startling!!"

The Rev. J. Morris has published, amongst other contemporary MSS., one entitled "A Yorkshire Recusant's Relation." In this there is a long description of the sad condition of the prisoners both in York and Hull. The fees exacted from them appear to have been enormous! allowing for the difference in the value of money,—the weekly chamber rents ranged from five to twenty shillings; the weekly diet from £1 3s. 4d.* to £3 6s. 8d., according to the social rank of the prisoner. There appears to have been a fee for fetters, £2 10s. for a yeoman; £5 for a gentleman; and £10 for an esquire; in addition to this there is, what almost reads like a sarcastic joke,—an entrance fee: £6 13s. 4d. for a yeoman, and £13 6s. 8d. for a gentleman. The writer of this contemporary record is justly indignant at the treatment received by Yorkshire prisoners. He writes of Lord Huntingdon, the

* These figures represent the modern values.

President of the North: "But who, think you, was the broker of these villainies! who more likely than the tyrant himself who, one day sitting on the bench at Hull, where he gave sentence of death against a distracted Catholic . . . said openly to the keeper, It were more worthy to hang thee than this Papist, for if thou hadst been an honest man or a true subject, all the Papists in thy custody had been despatched ere this day." ("Morris' Troubles," vol. 3, p. 76.) This open suggestion of secret murder in prison should perhaps not so much surprise us, coming from Lord Huntingdon, the Queen's servant in the North, when we know that a similar request was made by command of the Queen herself to Sir Amias Paulet in reference to Mary Queen of Scots, and was by him very properly refused. ("Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet," London, 1874, p. 358. "Hearne's MS. Diary" Bodleian; and Harl. MSS. 6994, f. 50. British Museum.) During the period of their imprisonment every effort was made to shake the faith of the prisoners; at the castle in York they were compelled to hear sermons from the Protestant preachers; if they would not go willingly they were taken forcibly; when they tried to stop their ears, their hands were secured; if they uttered any sound they were gagged. These were some, and only some of the hardships endured by those who were, by comparison with others, the more fortunate amongst the Queen's Catholic subjects.

Of those who actually suffered death for their religion it is only possible here to give a few instances. The first missionary priest who suffered was Cuthbert Mayne, of St. John's College, Oxford. He was apprehended at the house of Francis Tregian, a Cornish gentleman of substance and position. In his history of Cornwall David Gilbert estimates Tregian's estate at the yearly value of £3,000. His property was seized by the queen; and his hospitality cost him much suffering, as he passed twenty-eight years of his life in prison. On his liberation, ruined in fortune, and with broken health, he proceeded to Lisbon, and the King of Spain accorded him a small pension for the short remnant of his life.

It is difficult for us to realize the fact that this hard fate befel an honourable English country gentleman, simply and solely for entertaining at his house a priest of that faith in which he had been bred, and to which, we must remember, only twenty-one years before, Queen Elizabeth had herself publicly professed to belong. His case is historically interesting also in another respect. His kinsman, Francis Plunkett, published a history of his life and misfortunes, entitled, "Heroum speculum de vitâ Francisci Tregeon cujus corpus septemdecim post annos in æde D. Rochi integrum inventum est. Edidit F. Franciscus Plunquetus Hibernus Ordinis S. Bernardi nepos ejus maternus. Olisipone, 1655, sm. 8vo." In this book, now comparatively rare, there is given a circumstantial account of Tregian's experience at Court. He appears to have been, for a time at least, a favourite of Elizabeth; and the story is not only very damaging to the Queen's personal reputation, but discloses a motive (spretæ injuria formæ) for this cruel persecution, which is creditable to Francis Tregian, but is quite apart from any question of faith. To leave the case of the host, and to return to that of the priest, who had been his guest, Cuthbert Mayne was indicted at the Assizes held at Launceston on the 16th Sept., 1577.—1st, for having brought into the country a printed instrument emanating from the See of Rome, contrary to the statute 13th Eliz. (and it must be noted that it is not even pretended that this document was in itself treasonable, for it was simply a copy of the declaration of the Jubilee of Pope Greg. XIII., and had no reference whatever to the state of affairs in England). 2ndly, for publishing the same. 3rdly, for maintaining the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Rome, contrary to the first of the Penal Acts. 4thly, for bringing in a certain vain sign and superstitious thing called an Agnus Dei, contrary to the 13th of Eliz. 5thly, for delivering the same to Fras. Tregian. 6thly, for saying a certain *public and open prayer, called a Private Mass*, contrary to the statute 1st Eliz., c. ii. Cuthbert Mayne seems to have had a good defence to all these alleged statutory acts of

treason; nevertheless, he was found guilty by a pliant jury, and condemned as a traitor by a time-serving judge. The several parts of the indictment are purposely set out in detail: for if no other man's blood (cleric or layman) had been shed, this one instance is sufficient to prove that it is false to say that in Elizabeth's reign there was put to death for religion—not one. It will be observed that Mayne is not indicted for any offence, but those created by the Penal Acts, and that there is not a shadow of evidence adduced at his trial to prove that from the time he landed in England to the day of his execution he ever, by word or deed, committed any act of treason against the State, or in fact did ought but what he came to England to do—*i.e.*, to minister to the spiritual needs of his fellow-countrymen who were Catholics. In 1577, John Nelson, priest, suffered at Tyburn, as Stowe says, "for denying the Queen's supremacy, and such other traitorous words against her Majesty." He was indicted under the 1st of Eliz., c. i. At his trial the oath was tendered to him, which he refused, saying "he had never heard or read that any lay prince could have that pre-eminence." This was also a case in which no act of treason outside of the Penal Acts was ever attempted to be proved. The same year, Thomas Sherwood, a layman, who had been a student at Douai, was arrested on suspicion only; and the same question was put to him. His answer was, "that he did not believe the Queen to be the head of the Church of England, and that this pre-eminence belonged to the Pope." Upon this he was put to the rack in the Tower to make him discover in whose house he had heard mass, but with no result. He was executed at Tyburn, being cut down from the gallows, and while still alive, dismembered and disembowelled. In this case also there was no offence proved or alleged, save the denial of the Queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical. In 1581, Everard Hanse or Haunce, a native of Northamptonshire, and a member of the University of Cambridge, was apprehended. He had been a beneficed minister of the State Church, and, like many others, had given up his benefice and

gone beyond the seas. At his trial before Mr. Fleetwood, the Recorder, he at once avowed that he was a priest, and the following dialogue took place:—"Then you are a subject of the Pope?—So I am, sir.—Then the Pope hath some superiority over you?—That is true.—What, in England?—Yea, in England, for he hath as much authority and right in spiritual government in this realm as ever he had, and as much as he hath in any country, or in Rome itself." He was indicted under the 1st Eliz., c. 1, and the 23rd Eliz., c. 1, for his priesthood, and for reconciling others to the Church. He was executed at Tyburn with unusual barbarity. After he was cut down and was being disembowelled, he was distinctly heard by the bystanders to utter the words: "O happy day." "Venterque cultro carnificis apertus cumque viscera effusa essent, et cor jam tremulum carnifex manu attractaret, hanc supremam edidisse dictus est vocem—O diem felicem!" —Diarium Secundum Coll[i]. Anglo-Duaceni, p. 181. This is another instance in which no treasonable act against the State was even attempted to be proved.

The case of Edmund Campion, the son of a citizen of London, was a notable instance both of the severity of the persecution, and of the fact that a reputation for learning, eloquence, and piety, could not save one who refused to conform to the Queen's religion, though at his trial and at his execution he professed himself in all other matters to be her loyal subject. In his early youth he had been a scholar at Christ's Hospital, and even there had gained distinction, for when Queen Mary made her state entry into London, on the 3rd of August, 1553, and halted near St. Paul's School, it was none of the "Paul's pigeons" who was selected to address her, but Edmund Campion, the little Blue-coat boy of thirteen. We are told that the Queen was much pleased with him, and that the people cheered him heartily. In due course of time, at the instance of the Grocers' Company, he was admitted as a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, then recently founded by Sir Thomas White. His career at Oxford was one continued success: Anthony

A'Wood testifies to his reputation as an orator; and the fact that he was selected in 1560, at the age of twenty, to deliver an English oration at the funeral of Amy Robsart, in 1564 to make a Latin oration at the funeral of Sir Thomas White,* and again in 1566 to dispute before the Queen and the Chancellor of the University, shows that his eloquence must have been of no mean order. At that time there were in Oxford many of those who afterwards devoted themselves to the defence of the old religion, and some who subsequently became victims of the persecution. Humphrey Ely, Gregory Martin, Henry Holland, Cuthbert Mayne, were all of his own college; Stapleton, Dorman, Marshall, Garnett, Wallop, Raynolds, and Pitts were of New College; Lane of Corpus Christi; Parsons and Brian of Balliol: Weston of All Souls; Ford of Trinity; William Holt of Oriel; R. Turner, afterwards Rector of the University of Ingoldstadt, and many others. We may be sure that the events of the day were eagerly debated in their respective colleges, and amongst themselves by these men and their friends. Oxford was near enough to the metropolis to have accurate and early information of what was passing there. Every act of the Government, the facts as to the consecration of Archbishop Parker, and the making of the new bishops, some few years before, must have been much more accurately known to them than they can possibly be to us. We know from a letter, subsequently written to Bishop Cheney, of Gloucester, and printed in the Appendix to Mr. Richard Simpson's valuable work, what was Campion's opinion on these matters; and it would appear from this letter, which in many ways is historically valuable, that there was no real difference of opinion between Campion and Bishop Cheney. There were many others who thought with them; and one by one these Oxford men gave up their chances of promotion in England, and followed Dr. Allen across the seas. There were special reasons why Campion should not act hastily: he was in good repute both with Leicester the favourite and with Cecil the minister, and was

* This oration is preserved amongst the Stonyhurst MSS.

known to the Queen herself. His popularity in the University was so great that, as his biographer, Mr. Simpson, tells us, "After he had taken his degree he had hosts of pupils, who followed not only his teaching but his example, and imitated not only his phrases but his gait; he filled Oxford with Campionists; he became like Hotspur, 'the glass wherein the youth did dress themselves, whose speech, gait, and diet was the copy and book that fashioned others.'" It is probable that there has never been, until our own day, another man who has exercised within the University a personal influence so great as was that of Campion; and that to find his successor we must look to the reign of Queen Victoria, and (we can happily still say) amongst living men.

Cecil, when he heard of Campion's departure from England, is reported to have said, "It is a very great pity to see so notable a man leave his country, for indeed he was one of the diamonds of England;" yet when the question of his life or death came before the Council in 1581, Cecil's voice was raised against him: perhaps not inconsistently from the statesman's point of view, for in spite of his absence he was still at Oxford *Campianus noster*. The citizens of London regarded him as one of themselves, from his parentage and the facts of his birth and early education having been amongst them; his reputation for learning had not diminished, and therefore he was too dangerous a man to be dealt with leniently. The circumstances of his return to England, the publication of the "Decem rationes" (which has been published in twelve different editions, at various places, in Latin, five in French, two in German, two in Flemish, one in Dutch, two in English, and two in Polish), his adventures and final capture, are too long to be given here in detail. He was apprehended in Oxfordshire, on the 17th of July, 1581, brought to London, and lodged in the Tower. Every effort was made to induce him to conform. He was brought into the presence of the Queen and the Earl of Leicester, and Hopton, the governor of the Tower, was instructed to tell him that even the Arch-

bishoprick of Canterbury was not beyond his reach. When these efforts proved fruitless, he was twice tortured on the rack, and on the 20th November, 1581, he was brought to trial. No act of treason was proved against him: with such skill and logical force did he conduct his defence, that even the spectators in court looked for an acquittal; but the order had been given, and he was condemned to death with the rest. The general feeling that the verdict was against the evidence has been confirmed by recent research amongst the State papers. The intelligence department of the Queen's Government was at that time admirably organized; they had their spies in all foreign cities, and even in the colleges abroad; but neither from their reports, from the letters of politicians, nor from the memoirs of diplomatists, can any adverse reference be found to Campion. The names of Parsons and Holt and others frequently occur; but Campion, from first to last, seems to have avoided everything that might be termed a matter of state, and to have confined himself strictly to the ministerial duties of his office. His execution took place at Tyburn, with the usual barbarity. The Rev. Dr. Jessopp, a clergyman of the Established Church, and therefore not to be suspected of a favourable bias, in his admirable work, "One Generation of a Norfolk House," gives us some account of the effect of Campion's death upon the people. Ballads appear to have been composed, of one of which the following is a specimen verse:—

> "Yow bloodie Jewrie, Lee and all the 'leven
> Take heede yor verdite wich was geaven yn hast
> do not exclude yo^u from the ioyes of heaven
> and cawse yo^u rew itt, when the tyme ys past,
> and euerie one whose malice cawsde hym saie
> crucifye, let hym dreade the terrour of that daie."

Dr. Jessopp also tells us of the effect upon Henry Walpole, a student of Gray's Inn; he was standing near the executioner, and his clothes became sprinkled with Campion's blood (Bartoli Dell' Istoria della compagnia di Giesù l'Inghilterra. In Roma nella Stamperia del Varese 1667 fol). So impressed

was he with the horror of the incident that from that moment he determined to give up the profession of the law, and to devote himself to the cause for which Campion died; he, too, ultimately suffered the same fate at York in 1595. When Edmund Campion's execution was known there was no longer any doubt left in the minds of either Englishmen or foreigners that the Queen and her advisers had committed themselves to a cruel and relentless persecution of all who refused to accept the State Church.

William Hart, of Lincoln College, Oxford, was apprehended at York, indicted for his priesthood and for reconciling certain persons to the Church, and was executed with the usual barbarities. His last words were to call the people to witness that he died for his religion and not for any act of treason against the State.

I may refer to two more cases because they are reported in a very rare contemporary tract, entitled "The Several Executions and Confessions of John Slade, Schoolmaster, and John Body, M.A.," by R. S. from Winchester, printed in London, 1583. Though this was written by a Protestant, it was so distasteful to Elizabeth and her ministers, that it was rigidly suppressed, and the printer was prosecuted. These two men were condemned in a præmunire under the 5th Elizabeth, cap. 1 (1563), they remained in prison for two years, and were then indicted, arraigned, and executed for high treason. The tract gives the following account from the pen of an eye-witness of their executions: "When they had come to the place of execution, Sir Wm. Kingsmill, who was officially present, said, 'Slade, doe not thus delude the people with plausible speeches; you are come hither to suffer death for high treason against her Majestie; you have been lawfully and sufficiently convicted thereof, therefore you are brought to endure the punishment that law hath assigned you; you have denyed her Majestie to have any supremacie over the Church of Christ in England, which fact is high treason, and therefore you are worthy to suffer,' a conclusion with which it is impossible to agree. The like also is reported as to John

Body. At the execution at Andover, Sir Wm. Kingsmill told him he died for high treason against her Majesty, whereof he had been sufficiently convicted. 'Indeede,' quoth he, 'I have been sufficiently censured, for I have been condemned twice; if you may make the hearing of a blessed Mass treason, or the saying of an Ave Maria treason, you may make what you please treason. . . . . I acknowledge her my lawful Queen in all temporal causes, and none other.' 'You shall do well, then,' said Sir Wm. Kingsmill, 'to satisfy the people in the cause of your death, because otherwise they be deluded by your faire speeches.' 'Ye shall understand,' quoth he, 'good people all, I suffer death for not granting her Majestie to be supreme head of Christ's Church in England, which I may not and will not grant; I pray God long to preserve her Majestie in tranquility over you, even Queen Elizabeth, your queen and mine; I desire you to obey none other;' at length (saying 'Jesu, Jesu esto mihi Jesu,' three times) he was put beside the ladder and quartered according to his judgment."

These, a few cases taken out of many others, more or less as they occur in point of time, are enough to prove that it was not considered necessary to bring forward any evidence of acts of what would generally be termed treason against the State, but that the offences created by the Penal Statutes, *i.e.*, to be a priest, to exercise the ministry of a priest, to reconcile a person to the Church or to be reconciled, to say Mass or to hear Mass, to possess or to publish documents emanating from the See of Rome, however innocent they might be in character (as in the case of Cuthbert Mayne), to have or to distribute certain harmless objects of piety, were each and all acts made treasonable, and which in the cases cited here cost the lives of those who were charged with them. In addition to these, Dodd gives in his "Church History" the names of no less than 115 others who suffered during this reign without any other charges being made against them. What indelibly stamps this persecution as one for religion only, is this simple fact, that in every case he who was condemned

was *offered his life if he would only conform to the Established Church.*

The system of fines for recusancy was also in its way quite as real a form of persecution. In the autobiography of William Weston, who had been in his earlier life a student at Oxford with Edmund Campion, we read: "There was a saying spread abroad, which was supposed to have come from the lips of Cecil, to the effect that he would bring matters to such a pass that in a short time Catholics would be reduced to such a state of destitution that they would be unable to assist one another, and would be thankful if, like swine, they could find husks therewith to assuage their hunger." Whether Cecil said this or no, it was very near the truth. In the Public Record Office there are returns from each county of the fines incurred every year, and in all cases where there seemed to be anything to recover, a commission is noted in the margin. These documents, extending over a long period of time, are well worthy of careful attention; they show that all was fish that came into the Government net; even widows, spinsters, labourers, and mechanics were not spared; all classes suffered for their religion, if only they had wherewith to pay the fines imposed by the statutes. The effect was this, many of the English country gentlemen were absolutely ruined; their estates, confiscated to the Crown, were regranted to the favourites of Elizabeth and to their friends. The rightful owners fled beyond sea, and both in the Low Countries and in Spain, there were to be found the heads of ancient and honourable English families subsisting, like Francis Tregian, upon the bounty of the Spanish Court. Those who were so fortunate as to save their estates, did so only on conditions which imposed trouble upon their successors. The ordinary rules of law as to real property were set aside when a Catholic became entitled. A series of enactments, even of a late date, 11th and 12th William III., cap. 4; 3rd George I., cap. 18; 11th George II., cap. 17, made them, unless they submitted to take the oath of supremacy, incapable of taking by descent or purchase any

interest, real or chattel, in land and other hereditaments. Their Protestant next-of-kin might enjoy the rents and profits, and was not even made accountable for waste other than wilful waste. It was not until a period within the memory of many living persons that these disabilities were entirely removed by the Act, 10th George IV., cap. 7.

These are a few of the historical facts that go to prove that during the reign of Elizabeth there existed in England a persecution for religion as sharp and as effective as any that had gone before it.

That it has not been so fully recorded as other facts of English history may be due to several causes. Partisan writers, in their mistaken zeal, no doubt have purposely ignored it; another cause may be the absence in that day of anything like a free press. Every book or pamphlet that contained matter distasteful to the Government was rigidly suppressed, and if the author could not be touched, the printer was punished. It is probable that persons living in France or in the Low Countries, really knew more of what was being done in England, than did the generality of men who lived there.

At last, somewhat late in the day, it must be confessed, a writer in the *Church of England Quarterly Review* has admitted the truth. The article upon this subject in the number for April, 1879, is written with unusual impartiality; it boldly claims for the Catholic sufferer in this reign, the title of "Martyr," and says, "it is useless to attempt to deny the fact of a persecution for religion under Elizabeth." It deals with Mr. Hallam's false statement that no woman was put to death for religion, when it was perfectly well known that in 1586, Margaret Clitherow was pressed to death at York; that in 1588 Margaret Ward was hanged at Tyburn for assisting a priest to escape from prison; and that in 1601 Anne Line, an aged and infirm widow and gentlewoman, was first flogged and then hanged at Tyburn, for merely entertaining a priest. So also it deals with a more recent and more glaring mistake made by Mr. Green, who says, writing

on the statute of 1581, that no layman was executed during the last twenty years of this reign. ("History of the English People," ii. 415.) As a matter of fact a considerable number suffered, and it is only possible to point out two years in which no execution of a layman is recorded. But while the writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* condemns "the remarkable inaccuracy which seems to beset every one who has dealt with the subject," he straightway goes on to give us an example in his own person, for he says, "the Church of England as a Church had no complicity with Elizabeth and the Privy Council in this miserable business; those of her bishops who took an active part in the persecution, did so for the most part under compulsion, and many with obvious reluctance." It is impossible after the first year of the reign of Elizabeth to distinguish the voice of the State Church from the voice of the State; if any such there be, it is drowned in the tremendous claim of the sovereign authority, which from that point of time to the present hour has never ceased to put forward its claim to ecclesiastical supremacy; but when we come to the case of the Elizabethan bishops, the difficulty disappears. Nothing is easier than to show from their own mouths, that they were most of them willing persecutors. Lingard says, "In Haynes (p. 365) there is a singular letter to the Council from the Bishops of London and Ely who, having examined the prisoners taken at Mass at Lady Carew's, suggested that the priest should be tortured to make him confess the names of those who had attended upon other occasions." In the "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," edited by Mr. Gairdner for the Camden Society, there is an interesting account of the apprehension of this priest, and of the ignominious way in which he was dragged to prison.

The Douai Diary, under date of February 3, 1579, says, "One Tippet, a younge man, sometyme student of Doway was brought before the *Bitesheepe* (sic.) of London, and Mr. Recorder, when he was straytly examined in matters of conscience. The *Bitesheepe* (sic.) and the Recorder beinge

outragiously moved agaynst him, contrary to all law, they condemned him to bee whipped at a cart's tayle, and to be bored through the eare with a hot iron, wch was executed in most despitful and cruellest manner that might be executed to any rooge." The third part of the Rev. J. Morris's work is full of references to the active part taken by both the Archbishop and the Dean of York. In vol. 153, Dom. E., P. R. O., there is a letter from the Bishop of Bangor (Robynson) to Walsingham, defending himself on a charge of Popery, by alleging his previous activity in the persecution of Recusants. In Strype (Anns. vol. ii., pt. 2, 340), there is a letter from the Archbishop of York to the Lord Treasurer, which says: "They had painfully travailled in this matter and . . . . should in a short time clear all the county of perverse Papists."

Another (p. 345) from the Bishop of Winchester which seriously proposes to send a few hundreds of recusants, who were too poor to pay their fines, to Flanders as forced labourers. Her Majesty's judges seem also to be out of favour both with Archbishop Parker and with Walsingham; the Archbishop suggests that letters should be sent to them, as he says, to quicken their zeal in procuring convictions; and Walsingham says, "He could not like the Justices of Assize for Mass matters, and that they would help them to escape punishment for that fault which they would gladly commit themselves if they dared."

In Strype's "Life of Archbishop Parker," p. 120, there is given a secret letter sent to the Lord Treasurer, which shows how the Bishops trembled, and therefore urged further cruelties to overawe the people. Bishop Aylmer writes to Lord Burleigh, "I speak to your Lordship as one chiefly careful for the State, to use more severity than hitherto hath been used, or else we shall smart for it." There is a letter from the Bishop of Chester, dated in January, 1581, in which he urges the Council to bring in a Bill making traitors and felons of "All such vagrant priests as walk about in disguised apparel, seducing her Majesty's subjects," and making their

receivers felons (P. R. O. Dom. E., 14th January, 1581). Archbishop Sandys was a zealous persecutor both as Bishop of London and afterwards in the North. A contemporary MS., published by the Rev. J. Morris, says of him: "I make no mention of Mr. Sands, the old apostata and false Archbishop, seeing he is well known to be as furious and unreasonable in all his doings as any other." His zeal in executing the behests of the Government no doubt arose to some extent from a feeling of gratitude. They had, to use a phrase very significant at that time, "dealt with" certain witnesses of a scandalous transaction that had occurred at Doncaster during his visitation in 1581, and by so doing they had saved the Archbishop from paying large sums as hush-money; there are many letters relating to this matter in the Public Record Office.

When the Bishops were thus zealous in the persecution of Catholics, it is only reasonable to suppose that their inferior officers, the preachers, were only too ready to discover and to report cases of disaffection towards the State Church. Still we are hardly prepared to find that they were paid for their "painful preaching" on Sundays by the result of their labours during the other days of the week as spies and informers. Yet this appears to have been the case, for in the Public Record Office we find a letter dated July, 1584: "From Sir Thomas Stanhope and others to Walsingham, recommending the case of John Heaton, an honest and diligent minister, painfully preaching and instructing the country, requesting for him the *grant of the benefit of four recusants, which he shall find out* in the counties of Stafford and Derby."

The question that these facts suggest is this: What was the motive cause for such a severe persecution for religion at this particular time? The answer is becoming more evident from each search that is made amongst contemporary records, and it appears to be this, that the country was not (as we have been taught to believe it was) really in accord with the government with respect to the change in religion. The first convocation of the clergy that assembled in Eliza-

beth's reign, before she had time to pack it with her nominees, formally protested, in its representative character on behalf of the Church in England, against the proposed changes, and especially against the substitution of the authority of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters for that of the Holy See. (Wilkin's Concilia, iv., 179.) As to the feeling of the laity there has come to light some striking evidence. Dr. Allen writes from Douai in 1583 (twenty-four years after Elizabeth's accession) of his brother, "Certainly it was a pleasure to hear him say that during the whole three years he had been away from me, never a day past but he had the opportunity of hearing Mass." In his answer to the libel of English Justice, published at Douai and at Ingoldstadt in 1584 (p. 171), he says of the English people: "If we go from spirituality to temporality . . . . we shall find by reason, experience, and substantial conjecture, that the whole being divided into three parts, two of them are inclined to Catholic religion in their hearts, and consequently are discontented with the present state of things." In the 3rd series of "the Rev. J. Morris's work," we have a picture by a contemporary hand of the state of the North of England. The writer says: "I observed in the East Riding (of Yorkshire) that there be scarce three or four Justices of Peace or men of authority in the commonwealth who are men of ancient families and great estate: for all such who are suspected to be backward in religion are barred from all offices and dignities; and they who are men of authority are new upstarts, either of husbandmen or lawyers." This is exactly what we should expect to see as the result of any organized conspiracy to overturn existing institutions which had succeeded for the time being. The same writer also says: "The number of Catholics in these parts is so great, I can travel from this side Lincoln to York, and go thirty miles further, which is above eighty miles, and within every six miles come to a Catholic's house, and for the most within three miles, all or most of them gentlemen's or gentlewomen's houses of good repute, and for all this, I will not

in the most go six miles out of the ready and nighest way."

That this was true, not only of the country but also of the towns, we know from the York House books (the records of proceedings before the Lord Mayor), which are quoted in the same volume. In one return, dated the 20th November, 1576, there is given a list of sixty-three persons in the city of York who openly refused to go to church. This return is important also when we regard the date and the nature of the replies given by the persons charged with recusancy. They are in every case nearly the same, and are to this effect—that they refuse to attend their parish church as a matter of conscience, because, as they say, there is there neither priest, altar, nor sacrifice. Campion, in one of his letters, says he had heard that 50,000 recusants were returned in one month. In 1581 the bishop of the diocese writes to Lord Burghley about the state of the county of Salop, as he says, "being one of the best and conformablest parts of my diocese, yet out of 100 recusants we could get but one only to be bound, the rest refusing to come before us." What, he asks, must it be in the other shires when it is thus in the best of them? (Lansdowne MSS. 33, No. 14.) As to the universities, while Douai and the other English colleges abroad were full to overflowing, Oxford was drained of her best and most promising students. Anthony A'Wood says that in New College alone twenty-three of the fellows refused to conform. Dodd, in his "Church History," gives a list of twenty-four heads of houses at Oxford, and of six at Cambridge, who were known to be opposed to the change of religion.

All the facts and the episcopal letters that have been quoted, point to the same conclusion, that the men in power—Ministers of the Crown, Bishops of the State Church—finding that the people could not easily be coerced in matters of religion, were trembling for their places.

We have often heard of a political panic, followed by severity and cruelty, but here we have this remarkable circumstance—though the rack, the cord, and the execu-

tioner's knife were all plied without cessation for religion during a considerable period of time, yet the fact has been generally ignored in this country for nearly 300 years. It is only now since greater facilities have been given for the perusal of State papers that truth has become stronger than misrepresentation, and that it is possible to show openly to all what was always whispered in secret by a few, how in the reign of Elizabeth both men and women were put to death for conscience sake. Whether in their religious belief they were right or wrong is a matter upon which we may differ in opinion, but it is a question for theologians to settle, and not for the historian. Whether the cause for which they died was good or bad, the existence of the persecution is a valuable fact, because it forms one of a series from which we may argue up to a general principle.

To take a parallel case as an illustration, the execution of Charles I. for making war upon the people, taken by itself is a passing event and nothing more, but taken in its connection with other and subsequent events, it becomes the first practical expression of a political idea which has now become universally recognised amongst English-speaking people. The question of the Elizabethan persecution is in exactly the same position ; it must be considered in its relation to other similar facts. It matters nothing for the purpose of historical generalization whether the sufferers were Reformers under Queen Mary, Catholics under Elizabeth, Puritans, or Members of the Society of Friends whose sufferings under the later Stuart kings are but too little known,—Campion the Catholic, Cartwright the Puritan, Fox the Quaker, and many others, unlike in creed, are alike in this, that through their persecution at the hands of the respective governments of the day the principle has now become firmly established, that the State, neither directly nor indirectly, shall compel any man's conscience.

ON THE ACTOR LISTS, 1578—1642.

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It is singular that no attempt had been made to gather up these documents so fertile in suggestion and still more rich in definite evidence on many disputed critical and historical questions prior to the publication of my "Shakespeare Manual" in 1876. Collier had printed many lists in his "History of the Stage," but had not compared them or arranged them for comparison. My own former attempt is incomplete, partly because at that date I had no access to public libraries, and had to work on imperfect materials; partly because additional lists have been still more recently discovered. I have not wittingly neglected any data for the present essay, which, whatever its faults may be, claims at any rate to be the only thing of its kind at present existing.

I have gathered a dozen complete casts of plays with actors' parts fully assigned. These unfortunately all belong to dates, subsequent to Shakespeare's death, between 1616 and 1631. There exist also three plots of non-extant plays, with complete casts, but two of these did not belong to Shakespeare's company, and the third cannot be shewn to contain his name. But, besides these, I have brought together from various sources more than six dozen lists of various companies within our date-limits; and, by so doing, have, I trust, got materials for more than one important decision in the much debated, but really little studied, dramatic history of the greatest literary period that the

world has yet seen. And, which is of more general interest, I have thrown a little additional light on the career of one we never tire of discussing—though I fear many of us do tire of studying as we should—the career of William Shakespeare.

Of the earliest companies of actors, which were for the most part composed of children, I can find no lists. The names of their "masters" are however attainable.

Sebastian Westcott	was master	of the	Paul's Boys, 1561–1582.
Thomas Giles	,,	,,	,, 1587–1588.
Richard Farrant	,,	,,	Windsor Boys, 1568–1570.
Richard Mulcaster	,,	,,	Merchant Taylors' Boys, 1573–1582.
John Taylor	,,	,,	Westminster Boys, 1571–1572.
William Elderton	,,	,,	,, 1573–1574.
William Honnis	,,	,,	Chapel Boys, 1569–1575.

All these are taken either from the accounts of the "Revels at Court," or from Malone's Shakespeare, iii. 423, &c. In one entry, 12th January, 1572–3, John Honnys appears, apparently in mistake, for William Honnys.

Passing from these boy players to men's companies, we find on the same authority that Laurence Dutton was manager of Sir R. Lane's company from 1571 to 1573, and that in conjunction with John Dutton, he was manager of the Earl of Warwick's company from 1574 to 1580. We also find from a patent dating 7th May, 1584, printed in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," i. 210, that James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson and Robert Wilson, were then servants to the Earl of Leicester.

In March, 1582–3, twelve players were chosen from Warwick's and Leicester's men, to form the Queen's players. Robert Wilson, Richard Tarleton, Laurence Dutton, John Dutton, John Lanham, were certainly among these twelve, so were Bentley and Singer;* James Burbadge was almost certainly another; the other four were possibly William

* See Halliwell's "Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare," p. 119.

Johnson, and three of the actors abroad in 1586–7, whom we have next to mention, but this is conjecture on my part, not history.

In 1586, William [Kempe?] and Dan Jones' boy were at the court of Denmark from January to September, and in October, Bryan, Pope, Stevens, King, Percy [or Pierst, or rather Preston, I think; the name is written Perston] were in Saxony (Cohn's "Shakespeare in Germany," p. xxxvi., &c.). Mr. Richard Simpson in his "School of Shakespeare" has shown that William the Conqueror in the play of *Fair Em*, represents William Kempe, and traces him from Denmark to Saxony, where he probably joined the other players named above. They returned to England in 1587, and in the next year Kempe succeeded to Richard Tarleton as principal extempore comedian among the Queen's men. Tarleton died on 3rd September, 1588. We shall next meet with Kempe, Bryan and Pope, as members of L. Strange's company in 1593; and I have already shown in my edition of Shakespeare's "King John," that the first appearance of L. Strange's men is on 27th December, 1591, and the last appearance of the Queen's men on 26th December in that year. Putting all these facts together it is scarcely possible to avoid the inference that L. Strange's company was substantially the same as the Queen's, which then changed its name and patron for reasons unknown to us, although a fag-end of the Queen's troupe afterwards joined the company of the Earl of Sussex, and acted with them in 1593–4 as "The Queen's men and my lord of Sussex' men together."

In confirmation of this induction we may add that Robert Greene, the poet of the Queen's company, was almost certainly on the continent in 1586, and that the Christmas, 1586-7, was the only one during the eight years that this company existed at which it did not present any plays at Court.

But this company of actors (L. Strange's), as we shall see, was Shakespeare's company, and as it visited Denmark and Saxony, he in all probability accompanied them; we are not told which way they came home, but if Kempe took the

same route as he did in 1601 he came through Italy. This would account for such local knowledge of Italy as Shakespeare shows, and would remove a difficulty from the critic's path; but it is far more important to notice that his residence in Saxony would explain how it came to pass that versions of the following plays, very different and far inferior to those we have, were acted in Germany by English players: *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Titus and Vespasian* (the same story as *Titus Andronicus*), not to mention the more doubtful cases of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. A close examination of these German versions convinces me that they were rough drafts by juvenile hands in which great licence was left to the actors to fill up or alter extemporaneously at their option. Successive changes made in this way have greatly defaced them; but enough of the originals remains to show that they were certainly in some cases, probably in others, the earliest forms of our great dramatist's plays. I have no doubt he drew up the plots for them while in Germany. I should also note that the successive mention of (1), John Dutton and John Lanham, (2) Laurence Dutton and John Dutton, (3) John Lanham, as managers of the Queen's men shows conclusively that these three actors belonged to *one* company, and disprove the figment of Messrs. Cunningham and Collier that there were *two* Queen's companies at the same time.

The next list I come to I have not included in my table, as it is demonstrably a forgery. It was put forth unwarily by Mr. Collier as a memorial of Blackfriars players, dating November, 1589. The documents in Mr. Halliwell's "Illustrations," prove that "Blackfriars" was not used as a theatre till 1596. Nevertheless in this and other similar instances, Mr. Collier's statements have been reiterated in an unaltered form in his new edition of his "Annals of the Stage." In other cases, however, of spurious documents that have been incautiously issued by Mr. Collier there has been a genuine basis on which the forgery has been founded. Indeed, were it not so, it is hardly possible that

so learned an antiquary should so often have been deceived. I believe the foundation of the present document to have been one connected with the Theatre in Shoreditch, and that the list of players is a genuine one; but this being mere conjecture, I append it here as apocryphal.

1. James Burbadge [belonged to the Theatre, 1577–1592].
2. Richard Burbadge [with L. Strange's men, 1593].
3. John Lanham [with Queen's men, 1589].
4. Thomas Greene [with Queen Anne's men, 1603].
5. Robert Wilson [with Queen's men, 1589].
6. John Taylor [query mistake for Joseph Taylor].
7. Anthony Wadeson [with Admiral's men, 1601].
8. Thomas Pope [with L. Strange's men, 1593; abroad with Kempe, 1587].
9. George Peele [writing for Queen's men, 1589].
10. Augustine Phillipps [with L. Strange's men, 1593].
11. Nicholas Towley [probably with L. Strange's, 1593, certainly with Chamberlain's, 1605].
12. William Shakespeare [with Chamberlain's men, 1594].
13. William Kempe [with Queen's men, 1589].
14. William Johnson.
15. Baptiste Goodale.
16. Robert Armyn [with Chamberlain's men, 1603].

It will be seen that 1, 3, 5, 9, 13, belonged to the Queen's; 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, to L. Strange's, afterwards called the Chamberlain's; 4, 6, 14, 15, may, for all we know, have belonged to either, and 7 may have shifted his company during the twelve years that elapsed before our notice of him. Hence these men may all have been members of the Queen's in 1589, acting at the Theatre. Five of them were certainly so; and as my conjecture of the identity of L. Strange's men and the Chamberlain's (afterwards shown to be certain by Mr. Halliwell's discoveries) had not been made when this list was put forth, I think it unlikely that a forger should have had recourse to these names to make up one list; hence my opinion that the list is genuine, though the document to which it is appended is not so.

The next column is from the plot of the old play called the

Seven Deadly Sins, preserved at Dulwich College, and printed in Malone's "Shakespeare," vol. iii. p. 356. The numbers that follow the names of the characters performed show which of the "four plays in one" the actors appeared in. I. (induction) indicates the presentation in which Lydgate expounds the extemporary shew to Henry VI; 1, the Envy play of Gorboduc; 2, the Sloth play of Sardanapalus; 3, the Lechery play of Tereus. An (?) shows that the identification of the actors is doubtful, only Christian names being given—namely, Will, Ned, Kitt, Sander, Nick, Harry. The date of this cast has hitherto been most absurdly assigned to 1588, or earlier, because the plot was made by Tarleton. It is clear from the actors' names that this is not the original scheme, but that of a revival; even Tarleton's own name not appearing in it. It dates probably 1593, when L. Strange's men were travelling on account of the Plague. We have here in the Queen's-man author and Strange's players another link between the two companies.

The next column is from a precept, dating 6th May, 1593, printed in Halliwell's "Illustrations," p. 33. The same authority (p. 31) gives us a warrant showing that—1, Kempe; 2, Shakespeare; 3, Burbadge, acted before Elizabeth at Christmas, 1594.

The numbers in all these columns indicate the order in which the actors are mentioned, and when the lists are in the originals printed in two columns they are counted by cross reading, not by reading down the columns successively, so that all names printed in the second column appear with even numbers. That this is the right way to read them is clear from the fact that the most celebrated names always appear at the heads of the two columns.

Columns iv., v., vii., x., xii., xiii., are taken from the first folio of Ben Jonson's works (1616); vi., from the License printed in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," i. 347; viii. is gathered from the Induction to Webster's "Malcontent;" ix. is taken from the *New Shakspere Society;* and xi., from A. Phillipps' Will (Malone's "Shakespeare," iii. 470). In this column W stands for witness, E for executor, and the numbers indicate

the order of mention of the legatees; the other columns are self-explanatory.

It will be noticed that Shakespeare's name only occurs under the dates of 1598 and 1603. It has usually been inferred from this that he did not act after the later date. This is a rash conclusion. There is no doubt that he acted regularly like any other member of the company until then; and before we decide that he did not afterwards, we should take account of the fact that we have no further cast or list of the actors in any play of the Chamberlain's men anterior to 1611, except in those written by Ben Jonson. We know that Shakespeare did not act in *Every Man out of his Humour*, and we have good reason to believe that the cause was that Jonson had satirized him in the previous year. In 1603 he did act in *Sejanus*. In 1604 Jonson and his friends satirized his *Hamlet* and *Eastward Ho!* Hence I think he did not act in the *Fox* in 1605, and by the date of the next list in 1610 (*The Alchemist*), Shakespeare had either written or was writing his farewell to the stage. He was preparing to break his staff, drown his book, abjure his magic, and thence retire him to his Stratford, where every third thought should be his grave. I see no reason for inferring that, because he did not act in one play of Jonson's in 1605 after the renewed insults of that envious and self-exalting spirit in 1604, it necessarily follows that he did not act in plays written by Tourneur, Fletcher, Beaumont, or himself. Nevertheless the question is quite an open one. There is no proof that he did act during the time in question, and there is, as I shall note elsewhere, good reason assignable in defence of his withdrawal from the stage, if withdraw he really did.

We find also from the accounts of the "Revels at Court," that Hemings was usually the manager or treasurer, Burbadge only receiving money once in an exceptional case in 1604. Pope being joined with Hemings twice in 1597–9, and Cowley once in 1601. The next table is one in which not merely the actors' names, but also their cast, is given, from plays by Webster, Fletcher, Massinger, and Carlell. The most inte-

resting of these is the double cast of the *Duchess of Malfy*, from which it appears that Taylor succeeded to Burbadge (as head of the company), Benfield to Ostler, and Robinson to Condell. Another interesting cast is that of the *Wild Goose Chase*, as teaching caution in criticism. The play was produced in 1621; but the cast is not of that date; Swanston, for instance, was still with the Lady Elizabeth's players in 1622. The cast is probably that of the revival for Herbert's benefit in 1631. It is taken from the Quarto of 1652, and is not like those in the Folio, which we shall notice presently, taken from an original prompter's copy. That had been lost in the case of this play, and was not found till Moseley put out a *si quis* for it.

The next table is taken entirely from the second folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, 1679. The chief interest in this table lies in the head actor. It will be seen that Burbadge from 1613 to 1618 (he died in 1619) always took the head place, never the second. After his death or retirement, Condell once takes the head place, and then retires altogether. For the rest of the lists, and unfortunately we have no list arranged in order after 1624, Taylor stands first, except in one short interregnum, when Lowin is first and Taylor second. Now recurring to our first table we find that in every play but one Burbadge still stands first, but in that one he is replaced by Shakespeare, who in the only other play-list in which we have mention of him, takes the second place. The order of succession then among these chief actors is this: 1598, Shakespeare; 1603–1618, Burbadge; 1619, Condell; 1620–1624, Taylor, with a short abdication in favour of Lowin in 1622. This position of Shakespeare's name effectually disposes of the nonsense that has been written about his poor acting, taking inferior parts, and the like. All actors at that time doubled, and good actors took poor parts as well as good ones, and that Shakespeare was fit to head the company in acting as well as in writing, see what John Davies says in his *Scourge of Folly*, 1611:—

"Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
Hadst thou not played some kingly parts in sport,
Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
And been a king among the meaner sort."

There is I think little doubt from this that Shakespeare played the parts of Richard II. and James I. in the two plays that got his company into so much trouble in 1601 and 1604, viz., *Richard II.* and the *Gowry Conspiracy.* I believe his adulation of James in *Macbeth* was an attempted atonement for this latter business, but we have no record of his ever acting again.

This table gives us another caution in criticism in the opposite direction to that previously noticed. It has always been taken for granted that the dates at which plays were licensed were nearly the same as those of original production. This was usually the case, but not always. *A Wife for a Month* was licensed 27th May, 1624, but it must have been acted before June, 1623, the date of Tooley's death, as he was one of the chief actors in it. This inclines me to believe that the *Prophetess* in like manner may have been acted some time before it was licensed, in which case I should date it with the *Island Princess* and the *False One* (the three plays in which Lowin was head actor), in 1619–20, giving us the regular succession of chief actors, Shakespeare, Burbadge, Condell, Lowin, Taylor, with no break whatever in the reign of any of them.

We have yet one more table connected with this company. The first column is taken from Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i., p. 415. This is said to be from a patent dating 27th March, 1619–20. This document is suspicious. 1. Burbadge is mentioned in it, who died 16th March, 1618–19. 2. It was unknown to Malone and Chalmers, though extant in the State Paper Office. 3. The words "When the infection of the Plague shall not weekly exceed the number of forty," would have suited such a document well in 1609 or 1625, which were great Plague years, but probably would not have been exceptionally inserted in 1620. 4. Joseph Taylor,

who was at the head of the company in 1620, is not mentioned. In any case, however, the 27th March, in the 17th year of James I., means 1619–20. He became King on the death of Elizabeth, 24th March, 1603–4. I have dated this column then 1619–20. This would fix the date of Fletcher's *Humorous Lieutenant* as subsequent to 27th March, 1619–20.

The next column is taken from Tooley's *Will*, printed in Malone's "Shakespeare," vol. iii., 484.

The next column is from Malone's "Shakespeare," vol. iii., p. 210. It is a list of signatures of the players to an apology for acting without permission.

The next is from a list printed in the New Shakspere Society's "Transactions."

The next is from a patent 24th June, 1625, printed in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii., p. 2.

The next from Ford's play of the *Lover's Melancholy*.

The next from Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii., p. 20.

The next from a "Player's Pass" printed in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii., p. 75. It dates 17th May, 1636.

The next column is from the dedication to Beaumont and Fletcher's works, First Folio, 1647. One noticeable point in these tables is the presence of William Rowley in 1623–24–25. This disproves Mr. Halliwell's statement that he remained with the Prince's players till the death of James I. (See "Illustrations," p. 30.)

The final column is from Wright's "Historia Histrionica." In addition to these lists we have a number of isolated mentions and allusions relating to individual players, some of which are worth gathering together. I will first take the players of Shakespeare's plays as given in the list of the First Folio:—

1. Shakespeare. Died 23rd April, 1616.

2. Burbadge. Died 13th March, 1618–19. Acted *Richard III.* in 1595 (Corbet's "Iter Boreale"); Malevole in Marston's

Malcontent (Induction to the play) in 1603; *Hamlet* in 1599 (Elegy in Heath's MS., printed in Ingleby's "Century of Praise");* Jeronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*, in 1592–1604; *Lear* in 1605; *Othello* in 1604 (a second MS. of the same Elegy). He is introduced in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1601–2. He is in a third version of the above-named Elegy set down as the actor of *Philaster* (by Fletcher); Vendice (in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*); Malevole (as above); *Edward II.* in 1590 (by Marlowe, a play belonging to Pembroke's men); Antonio in 1599 (in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, which belonged to the Paul's children); Brachiano in 1611 (in Webster's *White Devil*, which belonged to Queen Anne's company); and Frankford in 1603 (in Heywood's *Woman Killed with Kindness*, which was written for Worcester's players). The simplicity with which this monstrous absurdity has been swallowed by Shakespearian critics of the New School is only to be equalled by the impudence of the forger who palmed off this invention on the credulity of Mr. Collier. The notion of the chief player of the principal company in London, running about to act at the inferior theatres, and even with a children's company, is to a real student of stage history at once a gauge of the honesty of the proposer of such a statement, and of the knowledge of those who accept it as true. I must note here that Cuthbert Burbadge, brother of the actor, was not the same person as Cuthbert Burby the stationer; that the theatrical Burbadges were sons of James Burbadge, is shown by the documents in Halliwell's "Illustrations." Mr. Collier's statements in his new edition of his "History of the Drama" (Preface) are absolutely untrustworthy.

3. Hemings. Died 10th Oct., 1630. Acted in 1 *Henry IV.*, 1597 (Stokes' "Chronology of Shakespeare's Plays").

4. Phillipps. Died May, 1605. Acted in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* in 1594 (Stokes).

* This refutes Gifford's absurd argument that Jonson could not have acted Jeronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*, because Jeronimo in the earlier First Part of the play is a little man. Burbadge was no dwarf. This nonsense has been repeated by all editors of Jonson to this day.

5. Kempe. Died 1608. Acted in *Much Ado About Nothing*, as Dogberry, in 1598–9; in *Romeo and Juliet* as Peter, 1596 [? 1591], as we learn from the stage directions; perhaps in 2 *Henry IV.*, as Shallow (*cf.* his quotation in the *Return from Parnassus*, in 1601–2); in *The Knack to Know a Knave*, June, 1592, as the Cobbler.

I have no doubt whatever that the remarks in *Hamlet* on extemporizing clowns (iii. 2, 43) refer to Kempe, and were written immediately after his leaving Shakespeare's company in 1599; while the eulogy on Yorick (v. 1, 203) refers to Tarleton, Kempe's predecessor, by way of contrast. The document on which Mr. Collier relies to show that Kempe returned to the King's company before 1605 is one of the many forgeries by which he has been so unfortunately taken in.

6. Pope. Died Feb., 1603–4. Acted in *Love's Labours Lost* (Stokes), 1597 [? 1590].

7. Bryan. Still alive in 1600; but he does not appear in our lists after 1593.

8. Condell. Died Dec., 1627. Acted in *The Tempest*, 1610–11 (Stokes); quitted the stage, 1619.

9. Sly. Died Aug., 1608. Possibly acted Osric in *Hamlet* (*cf.* his quotation in the Induction to *The Malcontent*). This is very dubious.

10. Cowley. Died Mar., 1618–19. Acted either as Conrad or Verges in *Much Ado About Nothing*, 1598–9 (stage directions).

11. Lowin. Died Mar., 1658–9. Acted Falstaff (but not originally); Volpone, in *The Fox*, 1605; Morose, in *The Silent Woman* (? when this play belonged to the Children of the Revels originally in 1609); Mammon, in *The Alchemist*, 1610; Melantius, in *The Maid's Tragedy*, in 1609–10. [All these are from Wright's "Historia Histrionica." They refer to a time when Hammerton had given up playing women (as he did in 1631), and had taken to playing lovers' parts, probably in 1635–40.]

12. Cross. Died in 1600. Acted in *Comedy of Errors* in 1593 (Stokes; who adds that his name is not in the First Folio

list (!). This gentleman's information is often, but not in this instance, derived from Halliwell.

13. Cooke. Died Feb., 1613-14. Acted in *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, 1592 (Stokes).

14. Gilburne. Alive in 1605 (Phillipps mentions him as "his late apprentice" in his Will). Acted in *All's Well that Ends Well*, 1601 (Stokes after Halliwell).

15. Armin. Alive in 1610. Succeeded Kempe as Dogberry, 1599, in *Much Ado About Nothing* (Collier's "Life of Armin").

16. Ostler. Alive in 1616. Acted in *King John*—not originally. (Stokes).

17. Field. Died Feb., 1632-3. Acted in *Othello* (Stokes).

18. Underwood. Died 1624 (winter). Acted in *Othello* (Stokes).

19. Tooley (*alias* Wilkinson). Died June, 1623. Acted in *The Taming of the Shrew* (? 1596). He was Burbadge's apprentice.

20. Ecclestone. Alive in 1623 (Tooley's Will). Acted in *All's Well that Ends Well*, 1601.

21. Taylor. Died 1653. Probably acted Hamlet, but not, as Downes the prompter says, originally. He did play Iago; Mosca, in *The Fox;* Truewit, in *The Silent Woman;* Face, in *The Alchemist;* but none of these originally (Wright's "Historia Histrionica").

22. Benfield. Alive in 1647. Acted in *The Tempest* (Stokes), but not originally.

23. Gough (Robert). Died Feb., 1624-5. He acted in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (stage directions); he also acted in *All's Well that Ends Well* (Stokes).

24. Robinson. Died Mar., 1647-8. Acted in *Cymbeline*, 1609 (Stokes); and in *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, 1611 (stage directions); mentioned by Wright.

25. Shank. Died Jan., 1635-6 (Collier). Acted in *Twelfth Night*, 1600 (Stokes); and as the Curate, in *The Scornful Lady*, 1609-12 (Wright's "Historia Histrionica"). This latter play belonged to the Revels Children originally; but in

1625 to the King's company. Shank must have acted in it about the later date. He was with the Palsgrave's company in 1613.

26. Rice. Alive in 1625. Acted in *The Tempest* (Stokes); not originally.

These twenty-six in the above order constitute the principal actors in Shakespeare's plays of the First Folio list. It is clear that this can only refer, in many instances, to casts after 1616.

We also learn from Wright's "Historia Histrionica," that Hart was Robinson's boy, and acted the Duchess in *The Cardinal.*

Burt was Shank's boy.

Clun was a boy actor.

Swanston acted Othello.

From stage directions in *King and No King*, v. 3 (Qto. 1625), we find that William Adkinson acted a servant's part.

I must also notice Laurence Fletcher, who was a prominent member of the Globe shareholders, although there is no proof that he ever trod the boards; for he is intimately connected with stage history. On 9th Oct., 1601, he occurs as "Comedian to his Majesty," James VI., on the Aberdeen register. He and his company (the King's servants) had been acting there in that year. This is absolute proof that Shakespeare's company visited Scotland; yet critics will have it (why?) that he remained at home. This is, verily, perverse love of disputation. There is no more doubt that these players did visit Scotland than there is that on their way they stopped and acted at Cambridge the plays of *Julius Cæsar* and *Hamlet.*

We have also some few notices of other actors belonging to this company.

Tawyer (Heming's apprentice) acted in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1592 (Stokes).

James Sandes is mentioned in Phillipps' will, 1605, as his apprentice.

Andrew performed in *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1599.

Richard Hoope, William Ferney, William Blackwage, and

Ralph Raye are mentioned in Henslow's Diary as Chamberlain's men, 1594–5.

Rowland and Ashton occur in the stage directions of *Love's Pilgrimage*, 1623.

[Hugh] Clark, in a revival of *The Custom of the Country*, spoke the Prologue.

Pollard spoke the Epilogue to *The Cardinal*, 1641. He is mentioned by Wright.

Andrew Pennycuicke, who wrote the dedication of *The City Madam* in 1659, is said by Gifford to have been one of the actors in it. I doubt it.

We now pass to another group of actors altogether.

Table V., column 1, is taken from the "Shakespeare Society's Papers," vol. iv., p. 145. It is a list of Worcester's men, 14th J an., 1586.

Column 2 is from "Henslow's Diary," p. 6; a list of the Admiral's men, Christmas, 1594.

Column 3 is from the old plot of *Frederick and Basilea*, printed in the "Variorum Shakespeare," 1821. It dates June—July, 1597. (See "Henslow's Diary.")

Column 4 is from "Henslow's Diary," p. 115; a list of the Admiral's men, 11th Oct., 1597.

Column 5 is from "Henslow's Diary," p. 120; a list of Admiral's men, 8–13th March, 1597–8.

Column 6 is from "Henslow's Diary," p. 172; a list of the Admiral's men, July, 1600.

Column 7 is from the "Shakespeare Society's Papers," vol. iv., p. 114. It is a list of the actors in the *Gentle Craft, or Shoemakers' Holiday*, by T. Dekker; purchased by Henslow for the Admiral's men, 15th July, 1599; acted at Court, Christmas, 1599–1600.

Column 8 is from "Henslow's Diary," p. 218; a list of the Admiral's men, February, 1601–2.

Column 9 is from the plot of "Tamar Cam," Part 2, printed in the 1821 "Variorum Shakespeare," vol. iii. The performance dates 2nd October, 1602. That both the Admiral's and Worcester's men were concerned with it appears from "Henslow's Diary," pp. 227, 241.

Column 10 is taken from Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i., p. 351. It gives Prince Henry's players in 1603, from the Book of his Household Establishment.

Column 11 is from the "New Shakspere Society's Transactions;" a list of Prince Henry's players in 1603.

Column 12 from the "Shakespeare Society's Papers," vol. iv. p. 44, is a similar list for 1607, April 30th.

Column 13 from Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i., p. 381, is a list of the Palsgrave's men; taken from their licence, 4th Jan., 1612–3.

Column 14 is from Collier's "Memoirs of Alleyn," p. 155; taken from the lease of the Fortune Theatre, 31st Oct., 1618.

Column 15 is from Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i., p. 427; taken from Sir H. Herbert's Office Book, 1622.

In this table there is nothing so interesting as the change that took place in 1597. It appears from "Henslow's Diary" that Pembroke's company were incorporated with the Admiral's on 11th Oct., 1597. (Compare the entries p. 91, 103, 115.) The new names in the list of that date are Gabriel Spencer, Robert Shaw, Humphrey Jeffes and Antony Jeffes. It can hardly be doubted, then, that these were among the new recruits from the players formerly called L. Pembroke's. Moreover, there are no other players known whose Christian names were Humphrey or Gabriel. A Gabriel Singer appears in various writings of Mr. Collier, but he is a creation of Mr. Collier's fertile imagination. But a Gabriel and a Humphrey do occur in the stage directions of 3 *Henry VI.* These are names of the actors, Gabriel acting as messenger, and Humphrey as keeper. This play, then, as we have it in the Folio, was printed from a prompter's copy belonging to a company with actors whose names were Humphrey and Gabriel. No such actors are known, except Jeffes and Spencer. These actors are traceable to two companies, the Admiral's after date 1597, and Pembroke's before that date. But the play of 3 *Henry VI.* was acted by Pembroke's men before 1595 (see the title-page of the surreptitious quarto edition). There can then be no reasonable

doubt that the prompter's copy from which the Folio was printed was the copy used by Pembroke's men, and therefore could not have been written by Shakespeare at any date, nor corrected by him in the years 1592–3, as the New Shakspere critics maintain. He can at most have revised it after the partial break-up of Pembroke's men in 1597, or at their final disappearance in 1600.

It appears from the Revels account that in 1597–8 Shaw and Downton were the managers; 1599–1600, Shaw alone; 1600–1603, E. Alleyn; and after this date, E. Juby.

In 1599 the boys' company, called the Children of the Chapel, was revived. These were the "eyases" (so distasteful to Shakespeare) who for three years supported at Blackfriars an unequal struggle, by the aid of Ben Jonson, against the men's companies of the Globe and Fortune. We have two lists of them, both from Jonson's First Folio.

	Cynthia's Revels. 1600.	Poetaster. 1601.
Nathaniel Field	1	1
John Underwood	2	2
Salathiel Pavy	3	3
Robert Baxter	4	–
Thomas Day	5	5
John Frost	6	–
William Ostler	–	4
Thomas Martin	–	6

Field acted with the Paul's boys after the breaking up of the Chapel Children in 1601, in the character of Bussy d'Amboise, in Chapman's play, in 1602.

In 1603–4, Jan. 30th, Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendall, and Robert Payne, were appointed managers of the new Children's Company of the Queen's Revels (Collier, i. 352.) These children were not at enmity with the Globe players, and the statements on that head by Mr. Aldis Wright and others are quite erroneous. Kirkham appears as manager in the Revels Accounts, 30th April, 1604;

but by 24th Feb., 1604–5, the management had changed—Samuel Daniel and Henry Evans being then at their head. Kirkham became manager of the Paul's Boys, and so appears 31st Mar., 1606.

An entirely different company, but with the same name (Children of the Queen's Revels), was established under Robert Daborne, Philip Rossiter, John Tarbook, Richard Jones, Robert Brown, 4th Jan., 1609–10 (Ingleby). They continued under Rossiter till 24th Nov., 1612 ("Revels Accounts," p. xlii.).

The Duke of York's Company was established 30th Mar., 1610 ("Shakespeare Society's Papers," iv. 47.) These appear in the Revels Accounts, under William Rowley, from 9th Feb., 1609–10 to 7th June, 1613, when the Duke of York had become the Prince of Wales.

There was a company called the "Princess Elizabeth's," under Alexander Foster, in 1612 (Revels Accounts).

In the first column of the sixth table will be found the names of the Duke of York's players, 30th Mar., 1609–10.

In the next, the Chapel Children [*alias* the Queen's Revels], who acted in Jonson's *Epicene*, 1609, from the Folio Edition.

In the next, a list of the Queen's Revels Children, in a mutilated obligation between them and Henslow, printed in Collier's "Life of Alleyn," p. 98, and absurdly called by him a list of Prince Henry's players.

The next two columns are from Fletcher's plays, Second Folio, and date 1612–13.

The next two columns are from articles of grievance against Mr. Henslow, printed in Malone's "Shakespeare," xxi. 417. It appears from these that Henslow's Company, *i.e.*, the Duke of York's (or Prince's in 1613), did not join company with Rossiter's, *i.e.*, the Revels Children, till March, 1612–13, and that before the end of 1615 he had "broken" five companies. This date of junction throws great doubt on the date assigned by Mr. Collier to the list in the third column. He says it dates 29th Aug., 1611; I believe it cannot be earlier than 1613.

The next column is from a letter to Alleyn, printed in Malone's "Shakespeare," xxi. 405. It has no date, but must have been written in the winter of 1614.

The next column is from an agreement printed in Collier's "Life of Alleyn," p. 127. He again wrongly calls the company the Prince Palatine's. The date of the letter is 20th Mar., 1615–16.

The next column is from the *Inner Temple Masque*, 1618 (Dyce's "Middleton").

The final column is from the "New Shakspere Society's Transactions."

It is necessary for clearness of understanding to sum up the changes in these companies during 1613–15, when Henslow had to do with them. In March, 1612–13, the companies of the Revels under Rossiter, and the Prince's under Taylor, joined: in Aug., 1613 (in my opinion), the Lady Elizabeth's, under Foster, were united also with them. The payments of these three separate companies extend to June, 1613, which implies their separate action during the Christmas festivities of 1612–13. The name of the united companies was the Lady Elizabeth's players. Their manager was Taylor during 1613–14. During this Christmas Field does not appear in the company; but in 1614–15 a new company was formed of which he was the head; he left it during 1615.

All this comes out of comparison of the Revels at Court entries, 1613–15 (which see). Hence we can make out the five companies broken by Henslow: (1) The Prince's of 1612–13; (2) the Revels, 1612–13; (3) the Lady Elizabeth's, 1612–13; (4) the united companies of 1613; (5) the Lady Elizabeth's of 1613–14.

On 1615, May 31st (not 1616 as Mr. Collier says, "Annals," i. 395), a patent was granted to Philip Rossiter, Philip Kingman, Robert Jones, and Ralph Reeve, to build a theatre, but the design was not carried out.

On 29th Mar., 1615–16, performances were stopped, and the following managers were summoned before the Privy Council:—John Hemings, Richard Burbadge [of the King's

men]; Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee [of Queen Anne's]; William Rowley, John Newton [of Prince Charles's]; Thomas Downton and Humphrey Jeffes [of the Palsgrave's]; (Collier's "Annals," i. 394). The Princess Elizabeth's company is not represented, and probably had not been reconstituted; but by 11th July, 1617, they must have been so, as a company under John Townsend and Joseph Moore appears in the Revels Accounts at that date. But before passing to the next table with which these players are connected, I must add a note or two to the preceding.

In *The Coxcomb*, besides the actors mentioned in the list, we learn from the stage directions that one Rowland acted. This Rowland was, I think, William Rowley, for that name is often spelled Rowland, and if so, my conjecture of the identity of *The Wandering Lovers* by Fletcher with *Love's Pilgrimage*, in which Rowland was an actor, is strongly confirmed.

Another point is the name of Robert Hanten or Hamlet, for we find both spellings. In "Eastward Ho," iii. 2 (1604), Hamlet a footman enters in haste, and calls for my lady's coach. Potkin, a tankard-bearer, then comes in and says: "'S foot, Hamlet, are you mad?" Editors have pointed out this allusion to Hamlet's madness, but have failed to see the joke, such as it is. Hamlet was the player's real name. In fact the Lady Elizabeth's company of 1611 was a continuation of the company of the Queen's Revels children of 1604, just as the Duke of York's of 1610 was of the King's Revels children of 1607; while the Revels children of 1610 were an entirely new company.

In Table VII. the first column is compiled from stray notices in Henslow's Diary of Lord Worcester's men, 1602–3. Browne had been with Derby's men in 1598–9.

The next column is from a rough draft of a patent to the Queen's men in 1603, when they were acting at the Curtain and the Boar's Head.

The third column is from the "New Shakspere Society's Transactions;" it relates to a grant of cloak, &c., made 15th March, 1603–4, to Queen Anne's men.

The fourth column is from a Privy Seal, dated 15th April, 1609 (printed in the "Shakespeare Society's Papers," iv. 45), granted to Queen Anne's men.

The fifth is a list of the Revels company, who, under the assumed name of "late comedians of Queen Anne, deceased," got a warrant on 8th July, 1622, to bring up children for the stage (Collier, "Annals," i. 429). They played at the Red Bull.

The last column is from Malone's "Shakespeare," iii. 59. It is a list of the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1622, then playing at the Phœnix. These two last lists are from Herbert's MSS. The Revels Accounts confirm these lists, and show us Duke as manager from 1603 to 1606; Greene from 1590 to 1612; and Lee in 1613–14.

The eighth table gives lists of actors in Shirley's *Wedding*, Massinger's *Renegado*, Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* (in which a 2 prefixed means actor in the second part of the play), Rankin's *Hannibal and Scipio*, and Davenport's *John and Matilda*. A. Pennycuicke acted Matilda in this last play (Halliwell, "Dictionary of Old English Plays"). He also published the "City Madam," and possibly, therefore, acted in it. All these plays were acted by Queen Henrietta's men.

Wright, in his "Historia Histrionica," mentions Perkins, Bowyer, Sumner, Robinson, Allen, and Bird (Bourne) as among the best of these actors.

It appears from Herbert's MSS. (Malone's "Shakespeare," vol. iii.) that Christopher Beeston was manager in 1635, and from Collier, ii. 79, that Henry Turner was so in 1637.

On the connection of C. Beeston and his son (not brother, as Collier says, ii. 12) William with the Cockpit company, see the Epilogue to Browne's "Court Beggar," written after 1638 ("The Antipodes" is alluded to in it), the statement on the title-page notwithstanding.

On 12th May, 1637, the two Beestons, Bird, Fenn, and Michael Moone (Mohun), still belonged to the Queen's company (Collier, ii. 81), but on the 2nd October, 1637, C.

Beeston's new company of boys played at the Cockpit (Malone's "Shakespeare," iii. 240), and Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock, and Turner, were sent to Salisbury Court.

Wright ("Historia Histrionica") mentions also as Salisbury Court players, Cartwright [?junior], Wintershal, and three of Beeston's players from the Cockpit. Burt (Clariana in *Love's Cruelty*), Mohun (Bellamente in the same play) and Shatterel. Burt had been under Shank at the Blackfriars. Of later companies we have scarcely any lists. One, however, is prefixed to Shakerley Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer*, acted at Salisbury Court by the Prince's (Charles II.) men, in 1631. Another is prefixed with cast of parts to N. Richards' *Messalina*, acted by His Majesty's company of Revels, and published in 1640.

Holland's Leaguer.	*Messalina.*	
William Browne	William Cartwright, sen.	Claudius
Ellis Worth	Christopher Goad	Silius
Andrew Keyne	John Robinson	Saufellus
Matthew Smith	Samuel Tomson	Manester
James Sneller	Richard Johnson	Montanus
Henry Gradwell	William Hall	Mela
Thomas Bond	John Barret	Messalina
Richard Fowler	Thomas Jordan	Lepida
Edward May	Mathias Morris	Sylana
Robert Huyt		
Robert Stafford		
Richard Godwin		
John Wright		
Richard Fouch		
Arthur Savile		
Samuel Mannery		

The next group of facts demanding notice is that of the changes made from one company to another. Not many are traceable, but some of those that are, are important.

Kempe, Duke, and Beeston, who acted in Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, in 1598, did not act in *Every Man out of his Humour*, in 1599; nor do they appear again in connection

with the Chamberlain's company. They all appear as members of Worcester's company, on 17th Aug., 1602; and Kempe is known to have been travelling on the Continent in 1600–1. Probably they all kept company during these two years; and as no other English company is known to have been away from London at that date, they and their fellows may safely be identified with the English players who were in Saxony (Oct. 1600), at Memmingen (Feb. 1600), at Dresden (June 1601), at Ulm (1602). This still leaves their occupation in 1599 unaccounted for; but in the play of *Histriomastix*, written in the winter of that year, we find a small band of players (1 Incle or Gulch; 2 Belch; 3 Gut; 4 Clout) travelling in the country, who at the end of the play are shipped off for the Continent. This seems at once to refer to Kempe, Duke, Beeston, and some inferior player unknown. For Kempe is, as above stated, the only actor positively known to have then left England, and the others most likely did not separate from him. But the actors in *Histriomastix*, who say of themselves, "we that travel with our pumps full of gravel," are by that description identified with the actors in the *Poetaster* (1601), who like them are described as a company of politicians. From all this it seems probable that Kempe (the Frisker of Jonson) and the rest, on leaving the Chamberlain's men, joined the Earl of Derby's players during 1599, and were sent as a detachment from them on to the Continent in the winter of that year. That this company was the same as the Earl of Worcester's of 1602 appears from the Revels accounts, where Robert Brown appears as manager of Derby's men in Feb. 1599–1600, and we know from our tables that he was manager of Worcester's men in 1602. But in any case these facts disprove the hypothesis of the late Mr. Richard Simpson that the poet connected with the actors in *Histriomastix* represents William Shakespeare. He is repeatedly satirized as an extemporary ballad writer; and when the players go abroad he takes to his old trade of balladry again. The only man to whom this description can apply is Antony Munday (the Antonio Balladino of Jonson), and on

reference to my tables (in MS.) compiled from Henslow's Diary, I find that from August 1598 to October 1599 he was not employed by Henslow in his usual hack work for the Admiral's men. But as he was not an actor I must pass this matter over slightly here. Mr. Collier traces Kempe back again to the King's company in 1605. But the document from which he obtains this information is demonstrably a forgery. Beeston, however, can be traced further. He remained with Queen Anne's players till 1609 at least, probably till her death in 1619. In 1622 he was one of the Lady Elizabeth's men; in 1635 with Queen Henrietta's company; and in January 1636–37 manager of the King and Queen's boys, otherwise called Beeston's.

Edward Alleyn, one of Worcester's players in 1586, who was at the head of L. Strange's men in 1592, left them for the Admiral's in 1594; he continued to manage this company till 1603, although he gave up playing himself from 1597 to 1602.

Ostler and Underwood, who were boys in the Chapel Children in 1601, were taken, when they grew to be men, into the King's company, and acted with them in 1610.

Sinkler, who acted with L. Strange's men in 1593, probably came to them from Pembroke's company in 1592.

Armin came to the Chamberlain's in 1602 from L. Chandos' I know nothing of this latter company except that its patron died in 1602. Armin wrote for the King's Revels Children between 1605 and 1610.

Field belonged to the Chapel Children in 1600–1; to the *Queen's Revels Children in 1609–13; to the King's, in and after 1618.

Eccleston was with the King's, 1610–11; with the Queen's Revels and Lady Elizabeth's, 1613; back with the King's, 1614.

Taylor was with the Duke of York's, 1610; with the Queen's Revels, 1612–13; with Prince Charles's, 1615–18; and finally with the King's, in and after 1619.

Pallant (if there were not two Robert Pallants; Richard is a

* Note that several companies were called by this name between 1609 and 1613.

mere miswriting in one list) was with L. Strange's men in 1593; Queen Anne's, 1603–9; the King's in 1616–23.

Benfield was with the Queen's Revels Children, 1612–13; joined the King's in 1614.

Lowin was with Worcester's in 1602–3; joined King's in 1603–4.

Shank belonged to Prince Henry's, 1603–13. He acted in *The Scornful Lady* in 1624, when the King's men reproduced it (not in its original cast by the Revels Children), hence he joined the King's men between 1613 and 1624, probably in 1614.

William Rowley was with the Duke of York's in 1610; not with them when united with the Revels Children; but with them again when separated and called Prince Charles's, 1614–22; with the King's in 1623; and again with the Prince's in 1624–25.

Penn was with the Queen's Revels in 1609; with Prince Charles's, Mar. 1615–16; and with the King's by 1629.

Swanston was with Lady Elizabeth's in 1622, and with the King's before 1629.

Greville was with the Lady Elizabeth's in 1622, and with the Palsgrave's *at the same date;* with the King's in 1626. This and the preceding seem to point to a great change in the companies at Charles the First's Accession.

Robert Baxter of the Chapel, 1601, and Richard Baxter of the King's in 1631, may be identical. Compare the mistake of Richard for Robert Pallant.

Clerk and Theophilus Bourne, Bird, or Barne, who were with Queen Henrietta's men between 1624 and 1629, appear in the list of 1647; but it does not follow from their signing the dedication to Fletcher's plays that they had ever acted with the King's company.

So far, these changes are connected with the King's company. Among the minor ones we may note Hamlet, alluded to in *Eastward Ho*, acted by Queen's Revels, 1604. He was with Prince Charles's, 1613–16.

Spenser, Shaw, and the two Jeffes, appear, from inductive

evidence, to have joined the Admiral's company from Pembroke's in 1597.

The two Brownes were with Worcester's men in 1586, Derby's in 1599, and with the Second Worcester's company in 1602.

Lee was with Queen Anne's men, 1603–9; with the Revels company, 1622.

Worth, with the Revels company in 1622, was with Prince Charles's in 1633.

Blaney, with the Queen's Revels Children in 1609, was with the Revels company in 1622, and with Queen Henrietta's, 1625.

Basse, with the Queen's Revels Children in 1613, was with the Revels company in 1622.

Perkins, with the Queen Anne's men, 1603–9, was with the Revels company of 1622, and afterwards with Queen Henrietta's players.

Sherlock and Turner were with Lady Elizabeth's men in 1622; then with Queen Henrietta's; and were removed to Salisbury Court c. 1637, along with Perkins and Sumner.

Richard Allen was with the Admiral's men from 1599 to 1602; with the Queen's Revels Children, 1609, 1613.

Fowler (or Flower) was with the Palsgrave's men, 1622 (probably with the Admiral's as early as 1600), and with Prince Charles' (ii.) in 1633.

Cane (or Kayne) was with the Lady Elizabeth's men in 1622, and with the Palsgrave's at the same date; with Prince Charles' (ii.) in 1633.

In explanation of this strange phenomenon of a player belonging to two companies, it should be noted that the Fortune Theatre was burnt in 1621, and not re-erected till 1623, so that during 1622 the Palsgrave's men, having no theatre, probably acted at the Phœnix along with the Lady Elizabeth's. Hence some confusion between the companies.

In "Henslow's Diary" are some isolated notices which I must not omit.

Richard Hoope, William Blackway, and Ralph Raye, are

noticed with the Chamberlain's men, 14th Jan., 1595–6 (Diary, p. 7). These were probably mere supers.

John Towne, Hugh Davies, Richard Allen, and Francis Henslow, are mentioned as Queen's men, 3rd May, 1593 (Diary, p. 5). But a comparison with p. 34 shows that Henslow's entries for April, 1594, are in six instances put down as 1593; moreover, he had an apparent connection with the Queen's men till Easter, 1593. Hence I take it, we should read 3rd May, 1594, and interpret the Queen's men as meaning "The Queen's men and my Lord of Sussex', together," who did certainly leave Henslow, April, 1594. In March, 1593, the tag of the Queen's company, who had not been retained as L. Strange's men, probably joined the players patronized by Sussex. In 1596, on 1st June, we find Francis Henslow, William Smith, George Attewell, and Robert Nicolls, mentioned in the Diary (p. 8); most likely as members of the same company. From an undated document (but written c. 1604) in "Henslow's Diary," p. 214, compared with Collier's "Life of Allen," p. 70, it appears that F. Henslow, John Garland, Abraham Savery, and Simcox, were players to the Duke of Lennox.

It is a matter of great interest to notice the various spellings of many names above mentioned; thus we meet with the following forms used quite indiscriminately:—

Burby and Burbadge
Ecclestone and Egglestone
Rowland and Rowley
Marlow and Marley
Cundall and Condell
Toole and Tooley
Turner and Tourneur
Burght and Birch
Robins and Robinson
Bird and Bourne and Barne
Dunstan and Tunstall
Moone and Mohun
Broome and Bourne and Burne
Dutton and Downton
Slaughter and Slater
Fowler and Flower
Price and Pryor
Henslow and Hinchlow and Hinchley
Kane and Cane
Hawood and Heywood
Axell and Axen
Goad and Goat
Hamlet and Hanten

And in addition to these, such differences of spelling as Jube and Juby in almost every name. It is clear that actors and writers were quite indifferent as to the spelling of their signatures. In the face of this our New Shaksperians would have us alter the time-honoured Shake-speare—the only literary spelling of the name known to authors, printers or publishers of his own time—to Shak-spere, because, forsooth, his hurried signatures, made in weakness and distraction, differ from the usual spelling of other members of the family. If we must alter his name, let us do so, not as those sciolists would have us, in a spirit of hypercriticism; nor as R. Greene did, in malice when he called him Shake-scene; but in fervent love and admiration, as some of his contemporaries did when they called him Shake-sphere, implying that he was no mere shaker of the stage at the old Theatre at Shoreditch, nor of the Globe in Bankside, but of the whole habitable world as long as it remains the inheritance of man, not of an age, but for all time.

On the succeeding pages will be found the tables referred to in the course of this paper. As it was found inconvenient to print Tables I. & II. in one page each, italic letters, *a*, *b*, &c., are inserted on the inner margin as a guide for the eye of the reader.

I	Abroad, 1586–7.	Seven Deadly Sins, c. 1593.	L. Strange's, 6 May, 1593.	Every Man in his Humour, 1598.	Every Man out of his Humour, 1599.	
Thomas Stevens ...	*					
Thomas King	*					
Robert Preston ...	*					
George Bryan ...	*	... ...	6			
William Kempe ...	*	? Itys, 3	2	9		*a*
Thomas Pope	*	Arbactus, 2	3	6	6	
Holland	...	Attendant, &c., I. 1, 2				
Vincent	...	Messenger, 2				
T. Belt	...	Servant, I, Panthea, 3				*b*
T. Goodall	...	Lucius, &c., 1, 2, 3				
R. Pallant	...	Warder; Nicanor				
	...	Philomela, &c., I. 1, 2, 3				
Robert Gough ...	...	Aspatia, 2	...	...	...	
Edward Alleyn ...	...	? Rhodope, 2	1			*c*
John Duke	...	Pursuivant, &c.; I. 1, 2, 3	...	10		
Christopher Beeston	...	? Attendant, &c., 1. 2	...	8	...	
John Sinkler ...	...	Keeper; Julio, &c., I. 1, 2, 3	...	...	...	
Richard Cowley ...	...	Lieutenant, &c. I. 1, 2, 3	...	...	...	
Augustine Phillipps	...	Sardanapalus, 2	5	3	3	*d*
William Sly	...	Porrex, Lord, 1, 3	...	7	5	
Sander Cooke ...	...	? Videna, Progne, 1, 3				
Richard Burbadge	...	Gorbodoc, Tereus, 1, 3	...	2	1	
Nicholas Tooley ...	...	? Lady, Pompeia, 1, 2				
Henry Condell ...	...	? Ferrex, Lord, 1, 3	...	5	4	*e*
William Shakespeare	...	... ...	...	1	...	
John Hemings	...	... ...	4	4	2	
John Lowin ...	...	... ...	...	...	...	
Robert Armin ...	...	... ...	...	...	...	
Laurence Fletcher	...	... ...	...	...	...	*f*
William Eccleston	...	... ...	...	...	...	
John Underwood	...	... ...	...	...	...	
William Ostler ...	...	... ...	...	...	...	
Richard Robinson	...	... ...	...	...	...	
Samuel Gilburne	...	... ...	...	...	...	*g*
James Sandes ...	...	... ...	...	...	...	
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	

	License, 19 May, 1603.	Sejanus, 1603.	Malcontent, c 1603.	Cloak, &c., 15 March, 1603-4.	Fox, 1605.	Phillips' Will, 1605.	Alchemist, 1610.	Cataline, 1611.
a								
b								
	...	...	...	...	...	W		
c								
	...	...	...	...	...	3		
	...	...	*					
	9	...	...	9	...	6		
d	4	3	...	2	...	*		
	7	5	*	6	5	E 3		
	...	8	...	...	6	7	9	3
	3	1	*	5	1	E 2	1	1
	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	8
e	6	6	...	8	3	2	5	4
	2	2	...	1	...	1		
	5	4	*	4	2	E 1	2	2
	...	7	*	...	4	...	3	5
	8	...	...	7	...	5	9	
f	1	...	...	3	...	4		
	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6
	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	7
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
g	...	...	...	...	...	9		
	...	...	...	...	...	10		
	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

II		Duchess of Malfy, 1616.	Duchess of Malfy, c. 1623.	
Richard	Burbadge	Ferdinand		
William	Ostler	Antonio		
Henry	Condell	Cardinal		
Robert	Pallant	Doctor	Cariola	
Nicholas	Tooley	Madman		a
John	Underwood	Delio	Madman	
John	Lowin	Bosola	....	
John	Rice	Pescara	.....	
Thomas	Pollard	Silvio	.....	
Richard	Sharp	Duchess	.....	b
John	Thomson	Julia	.....	
Joseph	Taylor	.....	Ferdinand	
Robert	Benfield	.....	Antonio	
Richard	Robinson	.....	Cardinal	
William	Penn	.....	.....	c
Hiliard	Swanston	.....	.....	
Stephen	Hamerton	.....	.....	
William	Trigg	.....	.....	
Sander	Gough	.....	.....	
John	Shank	.....	.....	d
John	Honyman	.....	.....	
William	Patrick	.....	.....	
Curtis	Greville	.....	.....	
Antony	Smith	.....	.....	
George	Vernon	.....	.....	e
James	Horne	.....	....	
Rowland	.....	.....	.....	
Thomas	Hobbes	.....	....	
Richard	Baxter	.....	.....	
	Balls	.....	.....	f
Nick	.....	.....	.....	
W.	Mago	.....	.....	
	Gascoigne	.....	.....	
	Herbert	.....	.....	
Harry	Wilson	.....	.....	g
Edward	Horton	.....	.....	
		i	ii	

	Wild Goose Chase, ? 1631.	Roman Actor, 11 October, 1626.	Picture, 8 June, 1629.	Believe as you list, 11 January, 1630-1.	Deserving Favorite, 1629.
a					
	Bel eur	Domitian	Eubulus	Flaminius	Jacomo
	Pinac	Lamia	Ubaldo	Berecynthus	
b	.....	Parthenius	Ferdinand	.....	Lysander
	.....	Domitia	Honoria	.....	Cleonarda
	Mirabel	Paris	Mathias	Antiochus	Duke
	De Gard	Rusticus	Ladislaus	Marcellus	King
	La Castre	Esopus	.....	Lentulus	Orsinio; Hermit
c	Nantolet	.....	Baptista	{ Merchant { Jailor	
	Lugier	Aretinus	Ricardo	Chrysalus	Utrante
	Oriana				
	Rosalura	Julia	Corisca		
	Lilia Bianca	Cænis	Acanthe		
d	Servant	.....	Hilario		
	Factor	Domitilla	Sophia	Merchant	Clarinda
	.....	Sura	.....	{ Demetrius { Captain	
	.....	Latinus	.....	Merchant	
	.....	Philargus			
e	.....	Sejeius	.....	.....	Guard
	.....	Entellus			
	.....	.....	.....	{ Hamilcar { Prusias, &c.	
	.....	.....	.....	Calistus	
	.....	.....	.....	{ Titus; Officer { Servant	
f	.....	.....	.....	Queen	
	.....	.....	.....	Cornelia	
	.....	.....	.....	*	
	.....	.....	.....	*	
	.....	.....	.....	*	
g	.....	.....	.....	Musician	
	.....	.....	.....	.....	Mariana
	iii	iv	v	vi	vii

III		c. 1611–12, Captain.	1612, Valentinian.	1615–6, Bonduca.	1617, Queen of Corinth.	1618, Loyal Subject.	1617–8, Knight of Malta.	1618, Mad Lover.	1619, Humorous Lieutenant.	? 1619, Island Princess.	? 1619, False One.	? 1619, Prophetess.	? Double Marriage.	c. 1619, Women Pleased.	1620–1, Little French Lawyer.	c. 1621, Custom of the Country.	c. 1621, Pilgrim.	1622, Laws of Candy.	1622, Sea Voyage.	1622, Spanish Curate.	1623, Maid in the Mill.	1623, Lovers' Progress.	1624, Wife for a Month.
Alexander	Cooke	4																					
Richard	Burbadge	1	1	1	1	1	1	1															
Henry	Condell	3	3	3	3	3	2	7	1														
John	Lowin	...	5	4	4	5	6	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	
William	Ostler	2	2	2																			
Nicholas	Tooley	...	...	7	6	6	...	...	...	...	4	4	6	6	2	5	3	5	5	5	...	...	5
John	Underwood	...	4	6	5	4	5	...	6	3	3	...	5	3	5	7	4	4	4	...	5	4	4
William	Egglestone	...	...	5	...	8	...	4	4	5	...	...	...	4	4	4	...	3	3	2			
Richard	Robinson	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Thomas	Pollard	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	4	6	5	
Nathan	Field	...	...	...	2	2	3	5															
Thomas	Holcombe	...	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	8	...	8	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	6	
Richard	Sharp	...	...	...	...	7	7	6	5	7	7	7	8	7	6	6	...	7	...	6			
Robert	Benfield	...	...	...	...	...	4	3	7	4	5	3	3	5	7	2	5	...	...	...	4	3	2
Joseph	Taylor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
John	Thompson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	6	...	...	2	8	
George	Birch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	8	6	7	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	7	6
James	Horn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8						
John	Rice	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6												
John	Shank	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5											
William	Rowley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7		
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii

IV		Patent, 27 March, 1629.	Tooley's Will, 3 June, 1623.	Spanish Viceroy, December, 1624.	Cloak, &c., 27 March, 1625.	Patent, 24 June, 1625.	Lovers' Melancholy, 14 November, 1628.	Cloak, &c., 6 May, 1629.	Players Pass, 17 May, 1636.	Dedication B. and F. 1647.	Rollo, 1648.
John	Hemings...	1	...	...	1	1	...	1			
Richard	Burbadge	2									
Henry	Condell ...	3	*	...	2	2					
John	Lowin	4	...	2	15	3	1	2	...	1	Aubrey
Nicholas	Tooley.....	5	*								
John	Underwood	6	*								
Nathan	Field	7									
Robert	Benfield ...	8	...	9	11	6		6	...	4	
Robert	Gough	9									
William	Eccleston	10	*								
Richard	Robinson	11	...	3	6	5	...	4	...	3	
John	Shank	12	...	4	8	7	4	5			
Joseph	Taylor	...	*	1	10	4	2	3	...	2	Rollo
Elyard	Swanston	...		5	9	10	5	8	...	5	
Thomas	Pollard ...	...	...	7	14	13	8	9	...	6	Cook
George	Birch	...	...	11	4	11	...	...	...	...	Latorch
John	Rice.....	...	...	6	12	9					
William	Rowley ...	...	...	8	...	8					
Richard	Sharp	...	...	10	5	12	7	7			
Richard	Perkins ...	...	...	...	3						
George	Vernon ...	...	...	...	7	...	11	13			
James	Horne	...	...	...	13	...	15	14			
Antony	Smith	...	...	...	...	...	6	10			
William	Penn	...	...	...	...	...	9	12	1		
Curtis	Greville ...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...			
Richard	Baxter	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	5		
John	Thomson...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...			
John	Honeyman	...	...	...	...	...	14	...			
William	Trigg	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	3		
Sander	Gough	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	6		
Thomas	Hobbes ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	2		
William	Patrick ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4		
William	Hart	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	Otto
Richard	Hawley ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8		
Hugh	Clerk	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	
Stephen	Hamerton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	
William	Allen	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	8	
Theophilus	Bird	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x

V		1586	1594	1597	1597	1598	1600	1599	1602	1602	1603	1603	1607	1613	1618	1622
Robert	Browne ...	1														
James	Dunstan ...	2	8	*												
Edward	Alleyn ...	3	1	*	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	1				
William	Harrison...	4														
Thomas	Cooke	5														
Richard	Jones	6	3	?	4	8	10	*								
Edward	Browne ...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*						
Richard	Andrews ...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*						
John	Singer	...	2	...	8	1	1	*	1	*						
Thomas	Towne.....	...	4	*	7	6	8	*	5	*	1	3	2			
Martin	Slaughter ..	...	5	?												
Edward	Juby.....	...	6	*	6	...	11	*	4	*	5	6	4	3	1	
Thomas	Dutton	...	7	...	5	2	2	*	2	...	2	4	1	1		
William	Bird.....	...	...	*	1	3	9	*	3	*	3	2	3	2	2	
Charles	Massey	...	...	?	...	9	5	*	9	?	6	8	7	5	5	3
Samuel	Rowley	...	...	?	...	10	6	*	8	?	4	5	5	4		
Gabriel	Spenser ...	...	...	...	2	5										
Robert	Shaw	...	...	...	3	4	7	*								
Humphrey	Jeffes	...	...	...	9	7	3	*	6	*	7	7	6	6		
Antony	Jeffes	...	...	...	10	...	4	*	7	*	...	9	8			
Richard	Price	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	10	...	...	14	8	4
William	Parr.....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	9	...	...	10	9	
William	Cartwright	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	...	...	8	7	
Edward	Colbrand...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	9	...	
William	Stratford ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	11	6	
Francis	Grace	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	7	3	2
John	Shank	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	...	...	13	...	
Richard	Gunnell ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	4	1
Richard	Fowler ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	5
Andrew	Cane	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Curtis	Greville ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv

* To column iii add these : E. Dutton's boy Dick (Richard Dutton) ; Griffin, Thomas Hunt, Richard Allen, Robert Leadbeater, and Pig ; to column ix add Denyghten, Thomas Marbeck, Parsons, George, Dick Juby, Thomas Parsons, Jack Gregory, Denyghten's little boy, Gideon, Gibbs, Thomas Rowley, The red-faced fellow, Kester, James, Giles's boy, and little Will Barne ; to column vii add Day, Flower and Wilson.

VI	30 March, 1610.	Epicene, 1609.	29 Aug. 1611 (?)	Coxcomb, 1612–3.	Honest Man's Fortune, 1613.	March, 1612–3.	June, 1614.	Winter, 1614.	20 March, 1615–6.	Inner Temple Masque, 1618.	27 March, 1625.
John Garland...	1										
William Rowley ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	*	3
Thomas Hobbes...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	8
Robert Dawes ...	4	...	...	...	...	...	*				
Joseph Taylor ...	5	...	3	2	2	*	...	3	3	*	
John Newton...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	*	6
Gilbert Reason ...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
Nathan Field	...	1	...	1	1	...	*				
Giles Cary	...	3	5	3							
Hugh Attawel...	...	5	...	6	...	...	...	6	6	*	
John Smith, or Antony	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	7	9	...	2
William Barksted..	...	2	2	8	...	*	...	...	7		
William Penn	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	5
Richard Allen.....	...	6	...	5							
John Blaney ...	...	8									
Emanuel Read	...	...	...	4	5						
Robert Benfield...	...	...	...	7	3						
William Egglestone	...	...	4	...	4	*				–	
Thomas Basse.....	...	...	11	...	6						
John Townsend	...	...	1								
Robert Hamlet, or Hanten	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	5	4	...	1
Thomas Hunt	...	...	7								
Joseph Moore ...	...	...	8								
John Rice	...	...	9								
William Carpenter	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	4
Alexander Foster ...	...	...	12								
Robert Pallant ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	2	2		
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi

VII		Henslowes Diary, 1602–3.	Patent, 1603.	Cloak, &c., 15 March, 1603–4.	Commission, 1609.	Revells Players, 1622, late Queen Anne's.	Lady Elizabeth's, 1622.
Christopher	Beeston.....	H	1	1	2	...	1
Robert	Lee	...	9	2	8	1	
John	Duke.....	H	5	3	7		
Robert	Pallant	H	4	4	5		
Richard	Perkins.....	H	3	5	4	2	
Thomas	Hawood ...	H	2	6	3		
James	Hoe	...	7	7	9		
Thomas	Swinnerton	...	6	8	6		
Thomas	Greene	...	...	9	1		
Robert	Beeston.....	...	8	10	10		
Thomas	Blackwood	H					
William	Kempe	H					
John	Thayer	H					
Edward	Alleyn	H					
———	Cattarnes ...	H					
John	Lowin	H					
Ellis	Worth	..	...	...	...	3	
Thomas	Basse.....	...	...	...	...	4	
John	Blaney	...	...	...	...	5	
John	Cumber.....	...	...	...	...	6	
William	Robins	...	...	...	...	7	
Joseph	Mo.e	...	...	...	...	...	2
Hilliard	Swanston ...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Andrew	Cane	...	...	...	...	...	4
Curtis	Greville.....	...	...	...	...	...	5
William	Sherlock ...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Antony	Turner	...	...	...	...	...	7
		i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi

VIII		Wedding, c. 1627–8.	Renegade, 13 April, 1624.	Fair Maid of the West, 1631.	Hannibal and Scipio, 1635.	John and Matilda, before 1639.
Richard	Perkins	Belfare	.....	Goodlack	Hanno	Fitzwater
Michael	Bowyer	Beauford	Vitelli	Spencer	Scipio	John
John	Sumpner	Marwood	Mustapha	D. of Florence	Himalcar	Young Bruce
William	Robins [on]	Rawbone	Carazie	Clem		
William	Sherlock	Lodam	.....	Ruffman	Maharbal	Brand
Antony	Turner	Justice Landby	.....	Kitchen Maid Alcade (2	Piston	Old Bruce
William	Allen	Captain Landby	Grimaldi	Mullisheg	Hannibal	Pandulph
William	Wilbraham	Isaac	.....	Alcade		
John	Young	Haver	.....	.....	.....	Lester
John	Dobson	Camelion				
Hugh	Clarke	Gratiana	.....	Bess Bridges	Syphax : Nuntius	Hubert
John	Page	Jane	.....	.....	Lelius	
Edward	Rogers	Lucibal	Donusa			
Timothy	Read	Cardona				
John	Blaney	.....	Asambeg			
William	Reignalds	.....	Francisco			
Theophilus	Bourne	.....	Paulina	Foota (2)	Massinissa	
Ed[ward]	Shakerley	.....	Gazett			
Christopher	Goad	.....	.....	Forset Spanish Captain D. of Ferrara (2)	.....	Oxford
Robert	Axen	.....	.....	English Merchant	Bomilcar : Gorgon	
	Fenn	.....	.....	D. of Mantua (2)	Sophonisba	
	Hatfield	.....	.....	.....	Bostar : Soldier	
	Jackson	.....	.....	.....	.....	Chester
		i	ii	iii	iv	v

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE HANSEATIC LEAGUE, MORE PARTICULARLY IN ITS BEARINGS UPON ENGLISH COMMERCE.

By Cornelius Walford, F.I.A., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.Soc.

[*Read before Royal Historical Society*, 19*th Feb.*, 1880.]

In calling the attention of the fellows to some of the leading points in the history of one of the most remarkable confederations which the world has ever seen, and in endeavouring to arrange these into an harmonious and intelligent narrative, I feel that I owe no apology, except at least to the extent to which my labours may be found deficient or defective: for it is in the direction of such original inquiries as the present that our Society may perform its more useful offices. England played a most prominent part in the history of the *Hanseatic League;* but in this regard has found heretofore no historian, while Germany has several. Hence the present attempt, the results of which, gathered from many sources, are presented without further preface.

EARLY TRADING COMMUNITIES IN LONDON.

London, Eighth Century.—Even at this date—that is, under the Saxon rule—there is believed to have been communities of strangers settled in London for the purposes of commerce; but from whence they came has not been accurately determined.—*Trans. of London and Midx. Archæological Society*, iii., p. 67.

The *Cologne* merchants were soon after this period established in Dowgate, and they made complaints of their privileges being interfered with by later traders who had arrived [see 1234]. And mention is made in the early

records of this country, at varying dates, of Germans, Teutons, Almains, Garpar, and Vandals. Further specific mention of some of these will occur as we proceed. English merchants at this, or a slightly later period, had "factories" on the Baltic coast as far as Prussia, and in the dominions of Denmark.

979. At about this date—time of Ethelred II.—a body of German traders, understood to be really an Order of Monks long engaged alternately in commerce and in warfare, had established themselves in London, and had met with Royal patronage. They are spoken of in the old chronicles as coming with many ships to Billingsgate, and in return for some slight presents and tolls were deemed worthy of extraordinary privileges, which were continued by succeeding monarchs.

MERCHANTS OF THE "STEELYARD."

It is probably as far back as this period that we must look for the establishment of the Merchants of the "Steelyard"—a name, perhaps, but slightly corrupted from its original meaning of the stiliard or beam for weighing goods imported into London—sometimes called the "King's Beam." It was natural that those who were largely engaged in commerce, particularly in bulky merchandise, should establish themselves near to the spot whereon such an operation was conducted. But when the "tonnage" was transferred to the Corporation of London, the king's beam was removed—some authorities say to Cornhill—but certainly, at a later date to Weigh-house Yard, at Little Eastcheap, which was at this time probably by the river. The king's beam being removed, the Merchants of the Steelyard most likely took possession of the entire spot, and there established their factory. This famous location lay between Thames-street and the river. It was of considerable extent; and at one period protected with high and strong walls, and probably fortified. Several centuries later it became known as the *Gilhalda Tutonicorum*—the Guildhall of the Germans.

These early "steelyard" merchants (confirming their monastic origin) conducted their affairs with the utmost secrecy, and lived personally in a state of entire seclusion, like the inmates of a monastery. Indeed, the Steelyard was a monastery—the only difference being that its brotherhood were devoted to money-making instead of religious exercises. The vast buildings on the river-side, in the parts not used for storage, were divided into separate cells for single men—the whole of the ranges opening into common reception-rooms. No inmate of the Steelyard was allowed to marry, or even to visit any person of the opposite sex, and a breach of this law, however slight, was followed by immediate expulsion, if not by more severe penalties. At a fixed hour every evening all the brothers were expected to be at home; the gates were then rigidly closed; and at a certain hour in the morning, varying with the seasons, were open again for the transaction of business. When we come to speak more directly of the Hanseatic League we shall see that many of these regulations were in conformity with their practice.

These early trading monks established themselves in other cities than London, as we have very abundant evidence in the ordinances of the *Great Gild of St. John of Beverley of the Hanshouse*, whereof the introduction is as follows:—

"Thurston, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of York, to all the faithful in Christ, as well now as hereafter, greeting, and God's blessing, and his own. Be it known to you that I have given and granted, and with the advice of this Chapter of York and Beverley and of my barons, have by my Charter confirmed to the men of Beverley all liberties, with the same laws that the men of York have in their city. Moreover, be it not unknown to you that the Lord Henry our King [Henry I.] has, with a good will, granted to us the power of making [this charter], and has, by his own charter, confirmed our statutes and our laws, after the manner of the laws of the Burgesses of York, saving what behoves to God and St. John, and myself and the canons; that so he might uphold and enlarge the honour of the alms-deeds of his predecessors. With all these free customs I will that my Bourgesses of Beverley shall have their 'Hanshus;' which

I give and grant to them in order that therein their common business may be done [*ut ibi sua statuta pertractent*] in honour of God and S. John and the canons, and for this amendment of the whole town with the same freedom that the men of York have in their 'Hanshus.' I also grant to them toll for ever, for xviij. marks a year; saving on the three feasts on which toll belongs to us and the canons—namely, on the feast of St. John the Confessor in May, and the feast of the Translation of St. John, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. On these three feasts I have made all the Burgesses of Beverley free and quit of every toll. This charter also bears witness that I have granted to the same burgesses free right of coming in and going out—namely, within the town and beyond the town, in plain and wood and marsh, in ways and paths and other easements, save in meadows and cornfields, as good, free, and large as anyone can grant and confirm. And know ye that they shall be free and quit of any toll all through the whole shire of York, like as the men of York are. And I will that whosoever gainsays this shall be accursed, as the manner of cursing is in the church of St. John, as shall be adjudged in the church of St. John. These are witnesses; Geoffry Mirdoc, Nigel Ffossard, Urnald Perci, Walter Spec, Eustace son of John, Thomas the provost, Thurstin the archdeacon, Herbert the canon, William the son of Tole, William of Bajus; before the household, both clergy and laity, of the Archbishop of York."

This charter was confirmed by the successor to Thurston.

BALTIC CITIES.

The first town erected on the coasts of the Baltic was Lubeck, which owes its foundation to Adolphus, Count of Holstein. After several vicissitudes it became independent of any sovereign but the emperor in the 13th century. Hamburg and Bremen, upon the other side of the Cimbric peninsula, emulated the prosperity of Lubeck; the former city purchased independence of its Bishop in 1225. A colony from Bremen founded Riga in Livonia, about 1162. The city of Dantzic grew into importance about the end of the following century. Koningsberg was founded by Ottacar, King of Bohemia, in the same age.

FIRST INDICATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

But the real importance of these cities is to be dated from their famous union with the Hanseatic Confederacy. The origin of this is rather obscure; but it certainly may be nearly referred in point of time to the middle of the thirteenth century, and accounted for by the necessity of mutual defence, which piracy by sea, and pillage by land, had taught the merchants of Germany. The nobles endeavoured to obstruct the formation of this league, which, indeed, was in great measure designed to withstand their exactions. It powerfully maintained the influence which the free imperial cities were at this time acquiring. Eighty of the most considerable places constituted the Hanseatic Confederacy, divided into four colleges, whereof Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, were the leading towns. Lubeck held the chief rank, and became, as it were, *the patriarchal see of the League;* whose province it was to preside in all general discussions for mercantile, political, or military purposes, and to carry them into execution. The League had four principal factories in foreign parts—at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod; indorsed by the sovereigns of these cities with considerable privileges *to which every merchant belonging to a Hanseatic town was entitled.*

We shall have to review some of the later incidents in more detail; but the immediate purpose before us at this point being to fix the date of the origin of the League, we think we must now consider it as having really taken definite shape in the thirteenth, and not the preceding, century. This appears to conform to the views of the later historians of the League. The progress of the League is admitted to have been very slow during its first century.

We now resume our chronological narrative.

1169. Oddy, in his "European Commerce" (London, 1805), which contains a large body of facts connected with the history of the League, after stating (p. 11) that Lubeck was founded in 1140, and "very soon increased so as to

become the first commercial city of the north of Germany owing to its convenient situation on the Baltic Sea," proceeds:

"The rapid prosperity of Lubeck excited both envy and emulation; and the envy soon was extended to all the towns that by their efforts to equal Lubeck became prosperous. Denmark and Sweden, Holstein and Saxony, by becoming enemies of those trading towns, forced them to enter into the Hanseatic League, of which Lubeck was from the beginning considered as the chief." . . .

It was about the year 1169, when the commercial cities of Julin and Winnet had been destroyed by the Danes and other pirates, and when Lubeck, Rostock, and other cities had received their dispersed inhabitants, that the Hanseatic Confederacy acquired force. *The cities wished to protect themselves from a similar calamity.* The first towns were Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Grypeswald, Ankam, Stettin, Colberg, Stolpe, Dantzic, Elbing, and Koningsberg. *It was a standing rule of this League, that no city should be admitted into it that was not situated on the sea, or on a navigable river, and that did not keep the keys of its own gates.* The cities must likewise have the civil jurisdiction in their own hands; but they were allowed to acknowledge a superior lord.

He adds:

"The policy of those trading republics at a time when war and chivalrous expedition were the occupation and glory of kings and princes could not but be productive of good. It was necessary to have some head, and they chose for their protectors the Grand Master and German Knights of the Cross, established in Prussia, who had made a conquest of Livonia.

"By this means the Hanse Towns commanded the commerce of the Baltic, from Denmark to the bottom of the Gulf of Finland, together with that of the rivers which run into that sea, from the interior of an extensive country, producing a vast variety of articles of great importance in the commerce of the world."

1170. The great confederacy of the Hanse Towns (commenced the year before) is confirmed. Twelve towns on the Baltic shore—"Lubec, Wismar, Rostoc, Straelsund, Grypes-

wald, Anklam, Stedin, Colberg, Stolpe, Danzic, Elbing, and Konisberg," unite in a League for their mutual protection; they agree to hold a general assembly once every ten years in order to admit or exclude members, and to confirm the Association. *They choose for their protectors the Master and Knights of the Teutonic Order;* and admit the Teutonic towns in Prussia and Livonia to participate of their institution. By degrees many German and Flemish towns (seated on navigable rivers) are admitted to the League. Lubeck is allowed to take the lead.—*Vide* Andrews, quoted from Werdenhagen, "the prolix historian" of the League.

ENGLISH PRIVILEGES TO FOREIGN MERCHANTS.

1232. The English monarch Henry III. granted a charter of privileges to the merchants of the Steelyard at this date, the effect of which was to constitute them into a Trading Gild, after the manner of the period. This was for services they had done him beyond the seas. [Some German writers give the date at 1206, but Henry III. did not ascend the throne until 1216]. This charter was renewed by his son, Edward I. Stow, in his famous "Survey," under date 1259, gives the following account of this Charter, which is important on points of identification:

1232. "Then to these merchants [of Almaine] . . . . Henry III. at the request of his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of Almaine [Germany], granted that all and singular the merchants having a house in the City of London, commonly called *Guilda Aula Theutonicorum*, should be maintained and upholden through the whole realm by all such freedoms and free usages, or liberties as by the king and his noble progenitors' time they had, and enjoyed," &c.

There is preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, a paper inscribed *Grauntes of Privileges by Kings of England from Henry III. to King Edward IV., to the Haunces of the Steelyard*, which shows the vast extent and importance of the immunities from tolls and other

vexations which these escaped, and which it may be presumed, therefore, others had to bear!

That the "Easterlings"—a designation attached to the merchants from the more eastern shores of the Baltic—carried on a considerable trade with London at this date, is generally recorded. They are said to have coined money in this reign, which on account of its goodness, was named after these merchants, but afterwards became corrupted into "Sterling," a word which is still significant in its meaning in all commercial matters.

1234. Henry III. is reputed to have granted a charter to the merchants of *Cologne* then settled in London, this, the eighteenth year of his reign. Mention is made of these merchants as settled in London during the ninth century.

1257. Henry III. is said to have granted charters to the merchants of Lubeck, Brunswick and Denmark, settled in London, in this the forty-first year of his reign.

1269. The same monarch (Henry III.) granted a charter to the merchants of the Teutonic Guildhall, in this the forty-fourth year of his reign.

HANSEATIC LEAGUE.

1239. The actual establishment of the *Hanseatic League* is usually now attributed to this date—the name being derived from the old German *Hansa*, a union or confederacy. The League is said to have been limited to three cities only, in its inception, viz., to Hamburg, Ditmarsh, and Hameln. It is further recorded that the conditions of this early treaty were that this city of *Hamburg* should clear the country of vagabonds and robbers, between the river Trene and the city, and prevent pirates cruising on the Elbe as far as the ocean. This, however, seems such a purely local purpose that we cannot but think that some error is involved. As other discrepancies in date and circumstance exist, we propose to review the several conflicting authorities briefly.

1241. Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce," &c., a work of known repute, says, it seems probable that the League

derived its origin from an agreement which was entered into this year by the merchants of Hamburg and Lubeck, to establish a guard for the protection of their merchandise against pirates and robbers in the inland carriage between their cities. "A precaution very necessary in those days of rapine, when men of the first rank having no useful employment, or elegant amusement to relieve them from the languor of idleness in times of peace, openly professed the trade of robbery" (Vol. i. p. 393). He says in a note: "This is the date assumed by Lambecius, Struvius, Pfeffel, &c., and surely the German writers, from local situation as well as industry in research are well qualified for the examination of such a matter." But authorities differ, and certainly here there is much room for it.

1255. The Confederacy, under the name of the *League of the Rhine*, was sanctioned by the approbation of the Emperor William, and confirmed in a general assembly of his allies, held at Oppenheim. It was determined that assemblies be held once every three months, in order to deliberate on the interests of the League. The country soon experienced the good effect of this association; a count was hanged for violating the public peace, and the nobles desisted from robbing on the highway. The cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, already confederated for the protection of their commerce, do not seem to have had any connection with this association, which did not extend beyond the neighbourhood of the Rhine. But a coalition afterwards took place; and the union of other small confederacies and single towns seems to have afterwards produced the powerful association of the Hanse, which (says Macpherson) "*does not appear from any good authority to have existed at this time.*"—"Annals of Commerce," p. 405.

1262. Some German writers say that the Hanse Association about this time made choice of *Bruges* (in Flanders) to be a station for their trade, and an *entrepôt* between the coasts of the Baltic and the Mediterranean—a voyage from one sea to the other and back again being too arduous an

undertaking to be accomplished in one season. It is, moreover, said that the advantages of storage, commission, &c., continued to enrich the inhabitants of Bruges, till the Emperor Frederick III. was provoked by an insult put upon his son to block up their port, whereby the Hanse merchants were obliged to transfer their commerce to Antwerp. Macpherson, however, still doubts whether the Hanse Association, under that name, was yet in existence; or if there were any maritime cities yet added to the confederacy entered into by Lubeck and Hamburg in the year 1241.

1270. We now discover in Norway the operations of the trading monks of North Germany who obtained leave from the king to "fix the staple of their northern trade in the city of *Bergen*." At first their commerce was restricted to the summer months —from 3rd May to 14th September,—and the citizens were not allowed to let their houses to them for more than six weeks, to which, however, three were added for bringing in their goods, and three more for carrying out their returns. In process of time (says Macpherson) the Vandalic cities of Germany obtained permission to establish a permanent seat of their trade, called a *contovi*, in the city: and in consequence of that indulgence the bridge was covered with twenty-one large houses or factories, each of them capable of accommodating about a hundred merchants or factors, with their servants. *They were bound to keep the houses and also the bridge in repair, and to perform watch and ward in that part of the city wherein they lived.* The merchants were chiefly from Lubeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Bremen, and Deventer, and imported flax, cloth, corn, flour, biscuits, malt, ale, wine, spirituous liquors, copper, silver, &c., and received in return butter, salmon, dried cod, fish-oil, fine furs, timber, &c. They were obliged to confine their operations to Bergen, the trade of the rest of the country being reserved to the native merchants, to whom they gave credit of their goods till the ensuing season. By this commerce, while it continued in its most flourishing state, Bergen was so much enriched that no other city in the three northern kingdoms could be compared to it.

The identity with the early trading monks who settled in London is made complete by a foot note, "They were all unmarried, and lived together in masses within their own factories." Among the early traders who settled in Bergen were those called Germans, Teutons, Almains, Garpar, Vandals, and at a later period Hansards or Hanseatics.

That great scholar, Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L., in his introduction to the fourth volume of the *Black Book of the Admiralty* [Master of the Rolls Series], 1876 (p. lxxviii.), says:

. . . "a political confederation, the origin probably does not date further back than A.D. 1270; *but the Great League was made up of minor associations*, of which the most important in Western Germany had come into existence when the commercial cities on the Lower Rhine ranged themselves on the side of William, Count of Holland, who on the death of the Emperor Frederick II., in 1250, disputed the Imperial crown with Conrad, the son of the late Emperor. Mayence was at first the centre of this association, which included the merchants and shipmasters of Friesland and of Holland; but Cologne subsequently became the headquarters of what may be appropriately described as the Rhenish branch of the Great Hanse League, which kept up its old headquarters as its departmental centre; whilst Lubeck, Bergen, and Novgorod, became in a similar manner the departmental centres of the Saxon or Low German, the Scandinavian, and the Russian branches of the Great League respectively—Lubeck being, in addition, the great centre of the united League."

1280. Edward I. granted a charter to the merchants of the Teutonic Gildhall, which was, however, but a confirmation of the charter granted by his father in 1259. In this charter the term "Hanse" does not appear. But concerning this it need only be remarked that there was in truth no new organization in London. The "Hanseatic League" being formed in the north of Europe, it had appointed as its agents in London a body long established, and known under the title of the "Teutonic Merchants" or the "Gild of the Teutons;" there was no object to be gained in assuming a

new title: and, besides, in truth the German merchants resident in London never became part or parcel of the Confederation of the Hanseatic League (see 1314).

The King of Norway having refused the Hanse Towns a continuation of the privileges they had enjoyed in his ports, the League *for the first time exerted its strength in a collective body;* blocked up the ports of Norway, and compelled the king to renew their privileges, and make them a compensation in money. Oddy, p. 15.

1282. This year (10 Edward I.) Henry Waleys Lord Mayor, a great controversy (says Stow) between the said mayor and the merchants of the Haunce of Almaine, about the reparations of Bishopsgate, then likely to fall; for that the said merchants enjoyed divers privileges in respect of maintaining the said gate, which they now denied to repair; for the appeasing of which controversy the king sent his writ to the Treasurer and Barons of his Exchequer, commanding that they should make inquisition thereof; before whom the merchants being called, when they were not able to discharge themselves, sith they enjoyed the liberties to them granted for the same, a precept was sent to the mayor and sheriff to distrain the said merchants to make reparations—namely, Gerard Marbod, *Alderman of the Haunce*, Ralph de Cusarde, a citizen of Culm, Tudero de Denevar, a burgess of Trivar, John of Aras, a burgess of Trivon, Bartram of Hamburdge, Godestalke of Hundondale, a burgess of Trivon, John de Dale, a burgess of Munstar, then remaining in the said city of London, for themselves, and all other merchants of the Haunce; and so they granted 210 marks to the mayor and citizens, and undertook that they and their successors should from time to time repair the said gate, and bear the third part of the charges in money and men to defend it when need were. And for this agreement the said mayor and citizens granted to the said merchants their liberties . . . . amongst others that they might lay up their grain which they brought into this realm in inns and sell it in their garners, by the space of forty days after they had laid it up, except by the mayor

and citizens they were expressly forbidden, because of dearth or other reasonable occasions.

1284. The League was solemnly renewed at this date. It had been part of its original scheme to hold an extraordinary general assembly every ten years; admitting new members —*i.e.*, Towns, and excluding old ones, if there were judged to be good reasons for doing so. We may here with advantage review the internal constitution of the League so far as may be necessary, in view of understanding points in its paternal history.

The confederacy was divided into four distinct classes, over each of which one city was to preside. At the head of the first division, as well as of the whole League, was Lubeck; here the general assemblies were to be held, the records, and the common stock, kept. Cologne was at the head of the second class; Brunswick was at the head of the third; Dantzic of the fourth class. Thus united, they were to support themselves against their common enemy; and thus united they certainly did procure the protection and friendship of many princes who would probably not have granted this to the individual cities. The Townes lying on the shores of the Baltic were termed *Easterlings*, and those towards the Rhine, of which Cologne was the chief, the Westerns, afterwards the Western Hanse Towns.

It has further to be noted that every Hanseatic citizen who, being resident in one of the factories abroad, there contracted marriage with a stranger, forfeited his political status as such. No merchant could enter into a commercial partnership with strangers. *In the cities of the League sales could not take place between two persons, of whom neither was a member of the confederation*, which law forced foreigners to employ the latter as intermediate agents in all matters of business they had to transact. Grain coming from the Elbe and the Vistula, could not be transported to other countries if it was not dispatched in a vessel cleared out from a city in League. And there were also several maritime regulations dictated by the same spirit of monopoly, and founded on an exclusive com-

mercial system. Reddie's "Historical View of the Law of Maritime Commerce," p. 253.

The number of cities stated to have been in union at the commencement is sixty-two, but a complete list of these we have never seen. Of the many historians and writers upon the League, no two agree either as to number or names. This, however, may well be, from the circumstance of their all assuming different dates. That continual changes occurred is probable for many reasons. The towns which became members of the confederation received the dignity of "Free Cities;" perhaps, indeed, not in all cases—but the regulation in this regard we do not find. All cities in actual confederation had the right to trade freely with all other of the cities, as also with the great "factories" associated. The geographical constitution of the League at two other important periods in its history, 1364 and 1476, will be given under those dates.

An able American writer, a few years since, gave the following outline of the position of the confederation at about this period:

"The League dictated to princes, raised troops, and made war against cities and states. The lords paramount who governed the Flemish and German provinces, being jealous of the authority of the League, often molested the Hanse Towns and went to war with them. The towns then appealed to the League, which, having forces much superior to those of any of the petty princes, peace was soon made, and the grievances of all under the protection of the League quickly redressed. So well convinced were the cities and towns of the advantage of such support, that the political and commercial relations of the Hanse became very extensive, and in a comparatively short time. All was not delightful in this compact, however, for many forms were necessary before relief could be obtained from the League, and it often came too late to be available. No city could declare war without the consent of the four nearest towns, and it was the general assembly at Lubeck which decided whether the whole Hanseatic confederacy was to take part in it. If the relief demanded consisted in troops, they were ordered to be in readiness to march before the expiration of fourteen days. In 1348 it conquered Eric

and Hakon of Norway, and Waldemar III. of Denmark. After the peace of 1370, by which Denmark became a province of the League, *no king could be elected without its approbation.* It deposed Magnus, King of Sweden, and gave his kingdom to his nephew Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. In 1428, Denmark becoming rebellious, it declared war against that kingdom, and invaded the country, sending thither 248 ships manned by 12,000 troops.—*Exchange and Review*, Philadelphia."

But these later dates have overlapped our English narrative, and I must pursue my chronological line.

1312. About this date the English Edward II. complained to the King of Norway of his suffering several English merchants to be imprisoned, and their goods seized to the value of £310 sterling, at the instigation of the Eastland merchants: *who by all possible ways strove to obstruct the advantages of the English merchants.*

1314. A grant entered in the Patent Rolls (sec. 7 Edw. II. m. 12) was made to the merchants of Germany, "*mercatores Alemanniæ,*" of the coming securely into the kingdom and selling their merchandise; but in the following year direct mention is made of the merchants of the *Hanse* of Germany; but three years later, when other privileges are granted, they are described as being to the merchants of the "Teutonic Gild."—*Macpherson*, p. 48.

THE LEAGUE AND DENMARK.

1348. A naval war began between the Hanse Towns and Waldemar III., King of Denmark, occasioned by that monarch demanding toll for vessels passing the Sound. The circumstances of the contest are not clearly recorded; but that it terminated in favour of the League seems clear, from the circumstance that the king granted them the province of Schönen for thirteen years by way of a peace indemnity. This is the first known account of any toll demanded for passing the Sound: it has since been a bone of great contention.

Oddy says that soon after this date another war broke out between these same merchants, and the King of Denmark,

"which ended much more gloriously for the former." This probably was the engagement which we speak of under date 1361.

1361. Wisby, the capital of Gothland, which had become one of the Hanse Towns in 1241 (and was fortified in 1289), was this year pillaged by Waldemar III. The League in consequence declared war against Denmark, forming an alliance with the King of Norway, Duke of Mecklenburg, and Earl of Holstein, which latter commanded the whole fleet, except the divisions belonging to Lubeck, for which that city named a commander itself. This federal fleet in 1362, attacked and took Copenhagen and its castle; but the Danish fleet overcame the Lubeck squadron, took six ships, burned others, and compelled the remainder to fly to the port of Travemunde. The defeat of the Lubeck squadron was soon repaired, and in 1364 the Hanseatic fleet totally destroyed the whole fleet of Denmark, in or near the haven or road of Wismar. Though the Danish King could not resist longer by sea, the Hanse Towns contrived to engage the King of Sweden in the quarrel; and Holstein and Jutland assisting the Danes, were compelled to make peace; and besides making new regulations for the toll payable in passing the Sound, great privileges were granted to the Hanse Towns throughout the Danish dominions.

DOMAIN OF THE LEAGUE.

1364. Some modern writers have been disposed to lay great stress upon this period in the history of the League. It is the date of the first meeting of the confederation held at Cologne, and certainly was the most important since that held at Lubeck in 1284. It is further stated that the fundamental act of confederation was drawn up—a document since believed to be entirely lost to history. And it is also said that it was at this date that the general title of *Hanse* was adopted. The zenith of its splendour is believed to have been reached towards the close of this century, when there were eighty-six cities in confederation, viz.:—

Andernach,	Duisburg,	Keil,	Salzwedel,
Anklam,	Eimbeck,	Konigsberg,	Seehausen,
Aschersleben,	Elbing,	Kosfeld,	Soest,
Bergen,	Elburg,	Lemgo,	Stade,
Berlin,	Emmerich,	Lixheim,	Stargard,
Bielefeld,	Frankfort-on-the-Oder,	Lubeck,	Stavoren,
Bolsward,	Golnow,	Luneburg,	Stendal,
Brandenburg,	Goslar,	Magdeburg,	Stettin,
Braunsberg,	Gottingen,	Munden,	Stolpe,
Bremen,	Greifswald,	Munster,	Stralsund,
Brunswick,	Groningen,	Nimeguen,	Thorn,
Buxtehude,	Halberstadt,	Nordheim,	Uelten,
Campen,	Halle,	Novgorod,	Unna,
Colberg,	Hamburg,	Osnabruck,	Venloo,
Cologne,	Hameln,	Osterburg,	Warburg,
Cracow,	Hamm,	Paderborn,	Werben,
Culm,	Hanover,	Quedlinburg,	Wesel,
Dantzic,	Harderwyk,	Revel,	Wisby,
Demmin,	Helmstedt,	Riga,	Wismar,
Deventer,	Hervorden,	Roermond,	Zutpen,
Dorpat,	Hildesheim,	Rostock,	Zwolle.
Dortmund,		Rugenwalde,	

The following cities were also connected with the League, but did not have representation in the Diet, nor responsibility:—

Amsterdam,	Bordeaux,	Lisbon,	Ostend,
Antwerp,	Cadiz,	London,	Rotterdam,
Bayonne,	Dort,	Marseilles,	Rouen,
Bruges,	Dunkirk,	Messina,	Seville,
Barcelona,	Leghorn,	Naples,	St. Malo.

Verdenhagen (vol. ii., chap. xxvi., p. 89) gives a list of sixty-four towns, with the annual quota, ranging from 8 to 100 imperial dollars, which each paid towards the usual current expenses, salaries, etc., amounting to about £400; also a list of 44 other towns and cities allied to the Hanseatic League, but some are doubtful.

The four great comptoirs or factories of the League, but which were not in confederation, were *London*, attached in 1250; *Bruges*, 1252; *Novgorod* (Russia), 1272; and *Bergen*

(Norway), 1278. Acting chiefly from these centres, and negotiating advantageous treaties with the different nations of Europe, the League gathered into its confederated cities in course of two centuries of trading, the chief part of the wealth of Europe. The comptoir of Novgorod had many privileges, was regarded as a model, and was looked up to for support by all the towns in its region. This, I ought to state, is not the Nijni Novgorod, where the great fair is now held, but Novgorod on the Ilmen, in North-western Russia. Bergen was one of the most flourishing comptoirs, and the number of persons in its service was so considerable that a separate quarter consisting of twenty-one great buildings could hardly contain them. It had dependent upon it forty-eight chambers of Hanseatic merchants, having each its agents, clerks, &c. Besides leather, skins, furs, butter, wood, train oil, whales and cod, and other fish from the northern countries and islands, this was the great depôt for salt, which was indispensable to the great herring fishery then carried on in the North Sea. The profits of the League upon salt were said to be enormous. It had an entire monopoly of the trade. The comptoir of Bruges maintained at one time three hundred merchants, factors, and journeymen, all told. After being employed here for several successive years, they were appointed to the more eminent posts of the League, and were generally of such ability that directors and magistrates were selected from amongst them. This custom of promotion was long adhered to in all the comptoirs.

The League never had any commercial stations in Denmark or Sweden, hence the conflicts in which it was perpetually involved with those countries; in the ordinary way, however, it carried on very extensive trade with those kingdoms. The principal Baltic Staplehouse of the League was at Wisby, in the Isle of Gothland. This town became so famous for its riches that it was finally sacked and destroyed by Waldemar, King of Denmark, about 1361.

1376. The magistrates and community of London petitioned the Parliament that they might enjoy their liberties, and that

strangers might not be allowed to have houses, or to be brokers, or to sell goods by retail. Soon after, in the same Parliament, the community of the city represented to the King and Council that their franchises were invaded—merchant strangers acted as brokers, and sold goods by retail, and also discovered secrets to the enemy; and they prayed that a stop might be put to those enormities. Their petition was granted—"Saving to the German merchants of the Hanse, the franchises granted and confirmed to them by the King and his progenitors."—*Cotton's Abridgment*, p. 133.

1383. Stow says these merchants of the Haunce had their Guildhall in Thames street, in place aforesaid by the said Cosin Lane. Their hall is large, built of stone, with three arched gates towards the street, the middlemost whereof is far bigger than the others, and is seldom opened. The other two be enured; the same is now called the old hall. At the date here given (6th Richard II.) they hired one house next adjoining to their old hall . . . this was also a great house with a large wharf on the Thames, and the way thereunto was called Windgoose, or Wildgoose Lane, which is now called Wildgoose Alley, for that the same alley is for the most part built on by the stilyard merchants.

1384. The Hanse Towns defeated those notorious pirates, known as the Vitaliens, who hailed from East and West Friesland, and who infested the Baltic, and interrupted the herring fishery. These pirates were afterwards used by the Hanse Towns in their conflict with Queen Margaret in 1395 (see that date).

Dr. Lujo Brentano, in the introduction to his "Essay on the History and Development of Gilds," printed by way of preliminary essay to Mr. Toulmin Smith's "English Gilds" (1870), says:

"But I strongly believe that the continual intercourse between the Towns of the several trading countries of the middle ages, kept up especially by the Hanse Towns, may not have been without influence in producing a general similarity of development of burgensic life in them all" (p. liv.)

1392. The merchants of this Hanse obtained from the king a declaration that they should be subjected to no new impositions in any town. [Rd. pat., sec. 15, Richard II. m. 36.]

About the close of this century the city of Brunswick incurred the sore displeasure of the League. The Trading Companies of the city rose in rebellion against the magistrates, putting some to death, and exiling others; and they induced other Towns also dependent upon the League to take a like course. The League came to the aid of the Dukes of Brunswick, and issued the most severe decree against the city, forbidding every communication between the inhabitants and the League, and depriving them of all the privileges theretofore enjoyed. Brunswick soon felt the effect of this ban. Commerce was destroyed, manufactories forsaken, the markets were empty, and *a dreadful famine* ensued. It was only upon the most abject repentance of the authorities, and the intercession of the Emperor Charles IV., that the Hanseatic Diet restored the privileges debarred for six years. Two burgomasters and eight of the principal citizens were condemned to walk in procession, bareheaded and barefooted, each with a lighted taper in his hand, from St. Mary's church to the Town-hall, where they were to confess their crime upon their knees before the Diet of Lubeck, and also to make sundry promises, and do other acts of penance.

1395. The League triumphed over Queen Margaret of Denmark—a woman of great ability and enterprise—who had united under her single authority, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. They compelled her to deliver up King Albert and his son, who were her prisoners; and also to give them Stockholm. The cities of Lubeck, Hamburg, Dantzic, and five others of the League, bound themselves in the sum of 60,000 marks that King Albert should within three years resign the whole kingdom of Sweden. In this war England had granted three large warlike ships of Lynn, with their commanders and mariners, to enter into the service of the Queen.

Disputes with England.—It was about this period that

England had various disputes and commercial differences with the League, through its then head, the Grand (or Great) Master of Prussia; but they were all amicably settled. This affords an indication that England was now becoming a rising commercial power; and some of the towns of the League indicated jealousy thereat. There had come to be a notion among some of the Baltic towns that they were really masters of that sea; and that, therefore, all who presumed to navigate the Baltic were invading their rights.

1399. King Henry IV. summoned the Grand Master of Prussia, and the Governors of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, and Gripwald, to appear in person or by deputies before his council to answer to the merchants of England, who complained that they were not treated in those places so well as the merchants from them were treated in England, though the express condition upon which they had obtained their privileges in England was that English merchants should enjoy the same advantages in their countries. He also warned the merchants of the Hanse, that if they allowed others to enjoy, *under colour of their name*, the privileges granted only to themselves, he would totally abolish and annul their charter. ("Fœdera," viii., p. 112.) Macpherson, who quotes the preceding, adds by way of note: "When those conditions were stipulated the reciprocity was merely nominal, for there were very few Englishmen who traded to foreign countries; but there were now many, and thence more frequent occasions of quarrel" (i. p. 610).

1403. The Hanse Towns complained, in a General Assembly, but in very respectful terms, to Henry IV. (of England), that the Gascons (who were then subjects of England) had seized a ship belonging to Stettin; Lubeck complained in the same year of a similar injustice done on the coast of Great Britain. The League in these matters treated as a Sovereign with a Sovereign—being represented by its head, who at this date was designated the Master-General of the Teutonic Order of Prussia, thus reviving earlier associations than the League itself.

1409. In respect of damages awarded out of some of the complaints already noted, Henry IV. this year gave his obligation to the Master-General for 5,318½ golden nobles, and 13d. to be paid next St. Martin's Day, on the express condition that when the money should be paid to the envoy of the Master-General in England *it should be sent out of the country by bills of exchange, and not in bullion or coin*, except so much as was necessary for expenses.

1411. The same English monarch arrested several Hanseatic merchants in the port of Boston, until satisfaction should be made for divers losses and murders committed by them on English merchants trading to Bergen. On giving security to the amount of 2,000 marks, they were however released the following year.

1417. At this date the Herring Fishery appears to have deserted the North Sea, and to have become established in Flanders. This was apparently one of the first steps which operated towards the decadence of the League. The Dutch were now rapidly increasing in wealth and rising in maritime importance; and this event had considerable influence on the fortunes of the confederation. (See 1431.)

1428. The Hanse Towns of the Baltic fitted out, at the Port of Wismar, a fleet of 260 ships, carrying 12,000, which were intended a second time to destroy Copenhagen; but notwithstanding their numbers and force they did not succeed. After this Erickson X., King of Denmark, contrived by intrigue to render the people in some of the Hanse Towns jealous of their magistrates, by which he gained over some of them.

1426. Formerly one of the aldermen of London used to act as judge in mercantile causes, wherein the German merchants of the Hanse residing in England were parties; but for above seven years the magistrates of London had refused to appoint any one of their number to sit in that capacity. After repeated applications of the Hanse merchants to Parliament, the King now nominated Crowmer to the office of alderman and judge of the Hanse merchants.

We have already seen [1282] that an alderman of London was designated "Alderman of the Haunce." His office was that last indicated.

BEGINNING OF TROUBLES.

1431. The League was again at war with the King of Denmark, and were in the end obliged to sue for that peace they had so long refused. Ships of foreign nations seized the opportunity, while the Towns which had maintained certain special trades were engaged in war, of passing through the Sound and obtaining trading advantages for themselves.

1432. The Commons in Parliament proposed (or petitioned) that the Hanse merchants settled in London should be made liable for compensation to those whose property should be seized by the Hanse merchants in their own countries. But the King could not consent.—Cotton's "Abridgment," p. 604.

1436. Early in this year the English merchants were so much offended at being prohibited from sailing to Iceland that they got a petition presented to Parliament praying the abolition of the privileges of the *Easterlings* (or Hanse merchants) in England. But the King would not agree to it.

A few months later the commissioners of King Henry VI. settled a treaty with those of the Grand Master of Prussia, the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, and the Hanse Towns, whereby the ancient privileges were confirmed on both sides. The merchants of Prussia and the Hanse Towns were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Admiral of England; and were indulged with an option of having any causes, wherein they should be concerned, tried with despatch, and without the bustle and formality of a law suit, by two or more judges to be appointed by the king: and a similar mode of trial was stipulated for the causes of English merchants in their countries. It was further stipulated on both sides, that in case of any depredation at sea, the inhabitants of the port, from which the piratical vessel sailed, should be obliged to make compensation, agreeably to an order of King Edward,

and that sufficient security to that effect should be given before any armed vessel should go out of port.—"Fœdera," vol. x., p. 666.

1437. England, through her monarch Henry VI., showed a sudden disposition, either through fear or interest, to cultivate amicable relations with the League. He granted to the Hanse Towns all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed in England, in the fullest manner, and also agreed to pay 19,274½ nobles to the Grand Master, in annual sums of 1,000. This appears to us to have been, not unlikely, in view of suppressing the growing commercial power of Holland.

1440. King Henry VI. addressed an expostulatory letter to the Grand Master of Prussia, stating that in former times no duties were exacted for vessels or cargoes in Prussia, but of late the merchants of England had often been compelled to pay a duty upon the value of their vessels and cargoes in Dantzic, and been oppressed with other arbitrary exactions, detention of their vessels, &c. Some English merchants also having complained of being wrongfully imprisoned and plundered in the towns of Stettin and Cosselyn, the King wrote also to the Burgomasters, Proconsuls, &c., of the Hanse Towns, demanding redress. ("Fœdera," x., pp. 753—5.)

1447. We have seen it stated that an English statute made this year (26 Henry VI.) prohibited the exportation of merchandise in any other vessels than those belonging to the League, but we cannot find any such. It may have been simply a proclamation. As a matter of fact no statutes were enacted this year.

1448. Disputes had again arisen between England and the League, and Commissioners were appointed to meet those of the Grand Master of Prussia and settle all differences.

1452. In a Diet which had been held at Utrecht by the Commissioners [those appointed in 1448, we presume] the matters in dispute were adjusted in a manner satisfactory to the King and the Grand Master. But the citizens of Lubeck refused to abide by the determination of the Diet, retained a number of English subjects in prison, and even prescribed to

the King rules for the conduct of his subjects. The other Hanse Towns appear, in complaisance to Lubeck, to have also neglected to accept or ratify the acts of the Diet. The magistrates of Cologne, however, apprehending the displeasure of the English Sovereign, had written to him requesting the continuance of his favour, and the merchants of the Teutonic Guildhall in London importuned him to the same effect. The King now wrote, in answer to the magistrates, that nothing should be wanting on his side to the faithful preservation of the ancient friendship between England and Cologne; and he desired to know whether the Hanse Towns were to take part with Lubeck in the hostile conduct of that city towards England, or to comply with the decrees of the Diet. He also wrote in the same manner to the Grand Master, in answer to his letter, signifying his approbation of the proceedings of the Diet.—"Fœdera," xi., pp. 304—5.

1454. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, by laying heavy taxes upon new towns in the north of Germany, gave rise to much dissatisfaction, and remonstrance not availing, the inhabitants joined with the nobles in a league of self-defence. The Emperor Frederick III. took the Grand Master under his protection, while the opposition had recourse to Casimir, King of Poland, for assistance. The war lasted twelve years, and Poland, in 1466, got possession of the country afterwards known as Polish Prussia, with the city of Culm. The Teutonic knights became so reduced that they had to submit to hold the remainder of their territory as a fief of the crown of Poland. This was a great blow to the League.

1463. King Edward IV. gave the merchants of the Teutonic Guildhall in London a confirmation of all the privileges granted by his predecessors; and he also exempted them from all new taxes imposed, or to be imposed, on imports or exports. These privileges they were to enjoy during two years and a half, to be computed from Christmas, 1462, provided they should not attempt to pass the goods of others as their own, nor commit hostilities or depredations against himself or his subjects.

But notwithstanding this the Parliament which sat this year for the defence of the realm, and especially for the guard of the sea, granted the king for life a subsidy, called tonnage, of 3s. upon every tun of wine imported, and 3s. more upon every tun of sweet wine imported by any foreign merchants, *those of the Hanse not excepted.* They also granted a poundage duty of 12d. on the prime cost value of all goods exported or imported, to be paid by natives *as well as merchants of the Hanse, and other strangers*, who should, however, pay double poundage on tin. From this duty were excepted woollen cloths made by English-born subjects, wool, wool-fells, hides, and provisions for Calais exported; also the flour of all kinds of corn, fresh fish, animals, and wine imported. These impositions are said to have been made under the authority of 3 Edward IV., but no such act appears in the Statute Book. There is just a supposition of intended distinction between the merchants of the Teutonic Guildhall and those of the Hanse League; but it is not very probable.

One of the first acts of protective legislation in the matter of food in this country was this year directed against the customs of the "Easterlings" (as declared established by them in 1252), viz., the 3 Edward IV., c. 2, under which grain ("corn") was forfeited if imported when the price of wheat here was under 6s. 8d. the quarter, rye 4s. and barley 3s. This act was continued in force for a very considerable period. The other articles of commerce imported by the Easterlings at this date were cordage, linen, cloth, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, masts, pipe-staves, steel, iron, wax, and wainscot.

1469. The Grand Duke of Muscovy began to make conquests, and amongst others obtained the commercial city of *Novgorod*, which he pillaged and destroyed. The Hanse Towns then removed their emporium to Revel, where it remained about half a century, from whence it was removed to Narva.

TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

1475. The citizens of Lubeck, who had latterly distinguished themselves beyond their confederates by a spirit of hostility

to England, had, in April, 1473, sent deputies to a general assembly of the representatives of the Hanse Towns held at *Bruges*, with instructions to ratify the articles agreed upon with King Edward's commissioners [in 1452, or subsequently]! After several adjournments three commissioners from the King, with the representatives of Lubeck, and two or three from each of the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Dortmund, Munster, Dantzic, Daventer, Campen, and Bruges, the Society of the Merchants' Hanse in London, and the Society of those in Bergen, met at Utrecht, in order to settle the terms of a permanent amicable intercourse, and now concluded a treaty in substance as follows :—

"*Heads of Treaty.*—All hostilities should cease, and a free intercourse by land and water should be restored. All suits for compensation on either side should be dropped, and all injuries be buried in oblivion. No claims should be made upon vessels or other property by those from whom they had been taken, nor the captains of ships or others be liable to arrest for any past quarrels. This general amnesty should be confirmed by the King and Parliament of England, and all obligations entered into by the Hanse merchants in England for compensation of damages should be cancelled. The merchants of England might trade to Prussia and other places of the Hanse freely as in former times, and should be charged with no customs or exactions but what had been *a hundred years established*, and the merchants of the Hanse should enjoy all the privileges in England granted by any of the kings to their predecessors. The King and Parliament of England and the Hanse Confederacy, by Letters under the seal of the city of Lubeck, should certify that no pretence of forfeiture of privileges on account of the late hostilities should be advanced on either side. In civil or criminal causes wherein the Hanse merchants might be concerned in England the King should appoint two or more judges, who, without the formalities of law, should do speedy justice between the parties, the merchants and mariners of the Hanse being entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty and other Courts ; and similar provision should be made for the easy and speedy dispensation of justice in the Hanse countries. As part of the recompense found due by the English to the Hansards, the King should convey to them the absolute property of the courtyard, called the *Staelhoef* or *Steelyard*,

with the buildings adhering to it extending to the *Teutonic Guildhall* in London, and also a court-yard, called the *Staelhof* or *Steelyard*, in Boston, and a proper house for their accommodation near the water in Lynne, they becoming bound to bear all the burdens for pious purposes to which the Staelhoef was made liable by ancient foundation, or the bequests of the faithful, and having full power to pull down and rebuild as they might find convenient. After discussing the claims for pillages of ships and cargoes and other outrages committed on both sides, the sum of £15,000 sterling was found due as a balance of compensation from the English to the Hansards, besides the above-mentioned houses; but in consideration of the protection against suits for by-past grievances assured to them by the King, they agreed to reduce the sum to £10,000, and to receive the payment in the customs falling due on their subsequent imports and exports. If any city should be dismembered from the Association of the Hanse, the King, upon receiving due intimation, should put the merchants of that city upon a footing with other foreigners till he should be duly certified that they were re-admitted into the Association. The City of London should be bound by the present Treaty in transactions with the Hanse merchants, whose ancient privileges should not be impaired by any later grants made to the city, and the Hanse merchants *should still have the keeping of Bishopsgate as formerly.* The King should oblige the public weighers and measurers to do justice between the buyers and sellers, and he should prevent vexatious delays at the Custom House, and the repeated opening of the packages containing federatures and other precious furs and merchandise [after being sealed as having paid the customs] at Canterbury, Rochester, Gravesend, and elsewhere, and should abolish the exaction of prince-money and some other unlawful charges. Wrecked vessels should be preserved for their owners on the usual conditions. The King should make diligent provision against defects in the length or breadth of cloths, in the quality of the wool. The merchants of the Hanse, after giving security to abide the law in such cases, as their property used to be arrested for, should have perfect liberty of selling their goods as they pleased, and of retailing Rhenish wine, according to ancient usage; neither should the Mayor of London claim a portion of their salt as he used to do."

I have set out the heads of this treaty thus in detail as indicating very distinctly what had been the previously

existing grievances, and feel bound to add that the great majority of the offences appear to have been committed by the English.

1476. Under date 1452 we have seen the citizens of Cologne in friendship with England, when all the members of the Hanse Association were hostile, or at least unfriendly: and the former alone enjoyed the privileges of the Hanse in England: though for very short terms, and subject to the trouble and expense of frequent renewals. In consequence of that distinction Cologne had either withdrawn itself or been expelled from the confederacy. But now that all the Hanse Towns were in friendship with England, Cologne was again received into the association; and, agreeably to the treaty of the preceding year, due notice was sent to King Edward by the magistrates of Lubeck, in the name of the whole Teutonic Hanse. ("Fœdera," xii. p. 36.)

DOMINION OF THE LEAGUE AT THIS DATE.

The geographical constitutionof the League, at this date, appears to have consisted of the following divisions—the Towns varying from those given in 1364 in some details. LUBECK, chief city of the first region; other cities attached thereto:

Hamburg	Lunenberg	Gripswald
Rostock	Stettin	Colberg
Wismar	Anclam	Stargard
Stralsund	Golnow	Stolpe

COLOGNE, chief city of the second region, in which were comprehended:

Wesel	Hervorden	Venlo
Duesberg	Paderborn	Elburg
Emmerich	Lemgon	Harderwick
Warburg	Bilefeld	Daventer
Unna	Lipstadt	Campen
Ham	Coesfeld	Swolle
Munster	Nimeguen	Groningen
Osnaburg	Zutphen	Bolswert
Dortmund	Ruremond	Stavern
Soest (Zoist?)	Arnheim	

BRUNSWICK, the capital of the third region, had under its command:

Magdeburg	Hildesheim	Stade
Goslar	Hanover	Bremen
Einbeck	Ulsa	Hamelen
Gottengen	Buxtehude	Minden

DANTZIC, the chief city of Prussia, was at the head of the fourth region, consisting of:

Koningsberg	Brunsberg	and also
Colmar	Riga	sundry
Thorn	Dorpt	Towns in
Elbing	Reval	Slavonia

There was also another class of cities whose right to the privileges of the League were controverted, viz.:—

Stendale	Breslau	Halberstadt
Stoltwedale	Cracow	Helmstadt
Berlin	Halle	Ryla
Brandenburg	Sschersleben	Nordheim
Frankfort-on-the-Oder	Quedlinburg	Dinant

Werdenhagen extends the number of cities of this last class to forty-four, among which were Lisbon and Stockholm.

The four chief "Factories" of the Hanse were Novgorod, London, Bruges, and Bergen; but the London Factory had branches, or depôts, at Lynn and Boston, then important maritime towns. All the merchants of every one of the Hanse Towns had a right to trade to those factories and enjoy all the privileges obtained from the Sovereigns of the countries conforming to the regulations enacted for the general good of the whole confederacy.

1491. Notwithstanding the treaty so formally concluded with the Hanse Confederacy in 1475, the jealousies and collisions which became more frequent as the English came more and more into the situation of rivals in trade, had again broken out in hostilities, captures, and slaughters. A meeting of deputies from both sides was now held in Antwerp, in

order to adjust the pretensions and compensate damages. But the assembly broke up without coming to any accommodation (*vide* Werdenhagen II., part iv., c. 10).

1493. Henry VII. of England broke off commercial relations with the Netherlands, and banished the Flemings out of England: whereupon the Archduke Philip banished the English out of Flanders, which carried all the English trade directly to Calais. This rupture was of serious consequence to both countries. It gave the merchants of the Steelyard a very great advantage, by their importing from their own Hanse Towns great quantities of Flemish merchandise into England, to the considerable detriment of the Company of English Merchant Adventurers, who were wont to import such directly from the Netherlands; whereupon the London journeymen, apprentices and mob attacked and razed their warehouses in the Steelyard; but those rioters were soon suppressed and duly punished (*vide* Macpherson, ii., p. 6).

1502. There were differences between the Hanse Towns and the King of Denmark; who having been driven out of Sweden by the Regent, insisted that the Hanse Towns should forbear trading to Sweden. The Hanse merchants contended that it was their business to push commerce wherever they could. The King was assisted by the Ambassador of his uncle James IV., King of Scotland, who sent an aid of two stout ships of war. At a General Assembly the merchants convinced the King of the unreasonable nature of the demand, as the League had great business ventures in Sweden.

1503. There was enacted, 19th Henry VII., c. 23, "For the merchants of the Hanse:"

"Be it ordained, established, enacted, and provided by the King, our Sovereign Lord, by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the same, in the present Parliament assembled, for merchants of the Hansea of *Almain*, having the Hanse in the City of London, commonly called *Guildhallda Teutonicorum*. That by the authority of this said Parliament every Act, Statute, or Ordinance, Acts, Statutes, or Ordinances, heretofore made concerning Merchants, Merchandise, or other wares, extend not to

the Prejudice, Hurt or Charge of the said Merchants of the Hanse contrary to their ancient Liberties, Privileges, free Usages, and Customs of Old Time granted to the said Merchants of the Hanse, as well by the King's noble Progenitors, and ratified and confirmed by the King's Grace, or by Authority of divers Parliaments (2) but that all such Act, Statute and Ordinance, Acts, Statutes, and Ordinances made or to be made in derogation of their said Liberties, Privileges, and Free Usages and Customs stand to be, as against the said merchants and their successors, and every one of them, void, repealed, and annulled and of none effect; any Act, Statute, or Ordinance, Acts, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary made or to be made notwithstanding. (3) Provided alway, That this Act or anything therein contained, extend not, nor be in any wise prejudicial or hurtful to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, or Commonalty of the City of London, or any of them, or the successors or any of them, or of any Entries, Liberties, Privileges, Franchises, or other Thing to them or any of them given, or granted by the King's most noble Progenitors or Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, or by authority of Parliament, or otherwise; this present Act or any Thing therein contained notwithstanding."

This and a similar one passed in 1523 are the only Acts which we find in the English Statute Book relating to this fraternity.

1505. A conflict now arose—it had been smouldering for some time—between the English Company of Merchant Adventurers and the League. The Easterlings had been entering upon the trade of woollen cloths with the Netherlands. King Henry VII. had reserved this branch of trade to the first-named company, and he not only strictly prohibited the merchants of the Steelyard from entering, or rather from continuing it, but he obliged the Aldermen of the Steelyard to enter a recognisance of 2,000 merks that the Steelyard merchants should not carry any English cloth to the place of residence of the Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries. This remedy was only effective for a short time.

1510. Ships from all parts of Europe were now trading in the Baltic; and the city of Lubeck having imprudently attacked the King of Denmark, and burned several places on the coast, that monarch pressed into his service the ships

of England, Scotland, and France. Sweden joined the Hanseatics; and Denmark hired at a high charge further aid by ships from the three countries that had espoused her cause, and thereby obtained a larger fleet than her opponents. The port of Lubeck, with all the ships in it, was burned; as was likewise that of Wismar, together with the suburbs of the town. Warnemunde was destroyed, and the suburbs of Travemunde, together with many villages belonging to Stralsund and Rostock.

These events constituted another serious blow to the League; and others were soon to follow. It appears from De Witt's "True Interest of Holland," that that nation aided Denmark in this warfare—eight of her ships having been previously taken by the Lubeckers—and that this war cost the province of Holland no less than fifty ships. The circumstances are set forth in considerable detail in Macpherson's "Annals of Commerce" (ii., p. 38).

The rapid rise in commercial importance of *Copenhagen* was regarded as another blow to the League, although it was really brought about very much by the policy of the League itself. The Hanse Towns had long oppressed the Danish merchants who came into their ports with goods: they fixed an arbitrary price on their merchandise, and refused to the Danes the right of carrying away what they could not sell to advantage. The only remedy, therefore, was to warehouse their goods with some person in the town till circumstances might become more favourable. To revenge as well as remedy this, it was ordered by the King of Denmark that all such merchandise should in future be exposed for sale only at Copenhagen, to which place he invited foreign merchants; so that it became an emporium for all Danish merchandise, to the great detriment of all the Hanse towns in the Baltic.—Oddy, p. 24.

1516. This year terminated a six years' war between Denmark and the merchants of Lubeck, which affected the commerce of one section of the Hanse Towns seriously; for during this period the city of Hamburg carried on all the

trade with Denmark and Norway, to the exclusion of Lubeck and the other Vandalic cities which had joined her. Here, then, we see divided interests cropping up in the several sections of which the League was composed. Hamburg's trade with the Netherlands, and with England, vastly increased during this period.

1518. At this date fourteen of the Hanse Towns were cut off from the League or general confederacy; which they were, or what was the precise cause, we are not informed. We do, however, know that the League still consisted of sixty-six cities in confederation, viz., six Vandalic cities, eight of Pomerania, six of Prussia, three of Livonia, thirteen Saxon cities, ten of Westphalia, seven of Cleves or Marck, three of Overyssel, seven of Guelderland, and three of Friesland. This number, with the fourteen which had been cut off, make a total of eighty. Over a period of many centuries, with new political and mercantile combinations, there must almost necessarily have been many changes.

Another significant fact which transpired at this period was that in the Commercial Treaties which England had made with other Powers, and with France especially, had been generally comprehended the community and society of the "Teutonic Hanse," *and this had been so to a greater or less extent for a century past.* In a treaty made this year with France against piracy this association was expressly comprehended. This could not in any way mean the Hanseatic League?

1519. King Henry VIII. of England issued a commission for a congress at Bruges to treat with Commissioners from the Hanse Towns, concerning the abuses, unjust uses, extensions, enlargements, interpretations and restrictions made by the Hanseatic merchants, concerning the several privileges at any time granted to the Hanseatic League by the King or his predecessors, and to remove all the said abuses; also to demand and receive whatever sums of money, and how large soever they may be due to him on that account. And finally to renew and conclude an intercourse of commerce between

England and the said Hanse League. The issue of this Congress does not appear; and it is more than probable that nothing was done.

1522. We are told by Oddy ("European Commerce") that the League was about this date so much engaged in quarrels with various powers that the danger of membership became nearly a counterpoise to the protection it afforded. On the other hand the League received considerable advantage from a quarrel which broke out between Denmark and Sweden, when Lubeck and Dantzic lent to Gustavus Vasa nine ships of war, which turned the fortune of the day; so that the Hanse Towns received in recompense great privileges from the Swedish monarch, as being allowed the sole trade of Sweden, and to pay no custom there for merchandise imported, &c.

1525. So rapidly does the kaleidoscope of history change that we find recorded by Macpherson the occurrence of three important incidents this year:

1. The Hanse Towns were still so powerful that Frederick I., King of Denmark, was induced to desire a union with them, being herein seconded by the Great Master of Prussia.

2. Even the Lubeckers alone fancied themselves so far masters of the northern kingdoms, that they had already sold Denmark to Henry VIII., King of England, who had actually advanced to them 20,000 crowns on this account; but wisely put off payment of the remainder till they should fulfil their engagement. [This upon the authority of Puffendorf's "History of Sweden."]

3. King Gustavus Erickson, of Sweden, about this time agreed with Frederick I., of Denmark, to refer their differences about the Island of Gothland and the Province of Blekinga, &c., to the six following Hanse Towns, viz., Lubeck, Hamburg, Dantzic, Rostock, Wismar, and Lunenburg; between which towns and those two kings an alliance was made against the expelled King Christian II., who claimed all the northern crowns; by which alliance a final period was put to the union of these three kingdoms, which the Swedes alleged had ever been prejudicial to them, but beneficial to

the Danes, who, whilst they commanded in Sweden, lived like opulent lords, whereas the native Swedes were slaves and beggars. ("Annals of Commerce," ii., p. 64.)

1535. England again favoured the League with her countenance, although it was only in the way of retaining its services. Relying on its former renown, probably, Henry VIII. offered 100,000 crowns for the aid of the League in placing a king of his liking on the throne of Denmark. The merchants undertook this political speculation; but Gustavus of Sweden, to whom the Towns had been insolent since the time they had assisted him, joined the Danes; the Hanseatics were defeated in an engagement at sea, and lost a vast number of their ships, thereby hastening the decline of the League.

DECLINE OF PRIVILEGES AND POWER.

1552. We now arrive at another important stage in the history of the League. To make events clear we had better fall back upon the summary given by Macpherson at this juncture:

"The time was now at length come when the eyes of the English were to be opened to discern the immense damage sustained by suffering the German merchants of the Hanse or College in London, called the Steelyard, so long to enjoy advantages in the Duty or Custom of exported English cloths, far beyond what the native English enjoyed, which superior advantage enjoyed by those foreigners began about this time to be more evidently seen and felt, as the foreign commerce of England became more diffused.

"The Cities of Antwerp and Hamburg possessed at this time the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; *and their factors of the Steelyard usually set what prices they pleased both on their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, with joint or united stocks they broke all other merchants.* Upon these considerations, the English Company of Merchants Adventurers made pressing remonstrances to the Privy Council. These Hanseatics were moreover accused (and particularly the Dantzicers) of defrauding the Customs by colouring (*i.e.*, taking under their own names, as they paid little or no Custom) great quantities of the merchandise of other Foreigners not entitled to

their immunities. They were also accused of having frequently exceeded the bounds of even the great privileges granted to them; yet by the force of great presents, they had purchased new grants. They traded in a body, and thereby undersold and ruined others. *And having for the last* 45 *years had the sole command of our commerce, they had reduced the price of English wool to* 1*s.* 6*d. per stone.* . . . In the preceding year they had exported no fewer than 44,000 woollen cloths of all sorts, whilst all the English merchants together had in the same exported but 1,100 cloths. The Steelyard merchants were also exempted from aliens' duties, and yet all their exports and imports were made in foreign bottoms;—a very considerable loss to the nation."

Upon mature consideration of these, and such like reasons and arguments, as well as of the answer thereto by the Steelyard or Hanseatic Merchants; and of Records, Charters, Treaties, Depositions of Witnesses, and other proofs, it was made apparent to the King's [Edward VI.] Privy Council:

1. That all the liberties and privileges claimed by, or pretended to be granted to the merchants of the Hanse, *are void by the laws of this Realm, forasmuch as they have no sufficient corporation to receive the same.*

2. That such grants and privileges claimed by them do not extend to any persons or Towns certain, and therefore it is uncertain what persons or what Towns should or ought to enjoy the said privileges, by reason of which uncertainty they admit to their freedom and immunities as many as they list to the great prejudice of the King's customs and the common hurt of the Realm.

3. That supposing the pretended grants were good in law, as indeed they were not, yet the same were made on condition that they should not colour any other foreigners' merchandize, as by sufficient proofs it appears they have done.

4. That above one hundred years after the pretended privileges granted to them they used to transport no merchandise out of this realm, but only to their own countries; neither did they import any merchandise but from their own countries: whereas at present they not only convey English merchandise

into the Netherlands, and there sell them to the great damage of the King's own subjects, but they all import merchandise of all foreign countries, contrary to the true intent and meaning of their privileges.

5. That in the time of King Edward IV. they had forfeited their pretended privileges by means of war between the realm and them (*i.e.* the Hanse Towns), whereupon treaty was made [see 1475] stipulating that our English subjects should enjoy the like privileges in Prussia, and other Hanseatic ports, and that no new exactions should be laid upon their persons or goods. Which treaty has been much broken in several parts, and especially at Dantzic, where no redress could ever be obtained either by the requests of the King's father or himself, for the said wrongs.

In consideration of all which, the council decreed *that the privileges, liberties and franchises claimed by the said merchants of the Steelyard shall from* henceforth be and remain seised and resumed into the King's grace's hands until the said merchants of the Steelyard shall declare and prove better and more sufficient matter for their claim in the premises; saving, however, to the said merchants all such liberty of coming into this realm and trafficking, in as ample manner as any other merchant strangers have within the same.

It appears that this decision was immediately followed by the imposition of a heavy duty upon the merchandise imported and exported by the League—20 per cent. instead of 1 per cent., their ancient duty since Henry III. We find no trace of it; but it may have been effected by proclamation. It is certain that the Regent of Flanders, as also the City of Hamburg, made representations in view of having the privileges of the Steelyard merchants reinstated, but without effect.

1553. Misfortunes rarely come singly, and so we must be prepared to find that events were transpiring in other directions similar to those last recorded—the incidents of diplomacy frequently react upon each other, and it may have been so in this case. We learn from Wardenhagen that there was at this date trouble at two other comptoirs of the League

—viz., at *Novgorod*, which "by reason of the Czar's arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings (who without any just grounds, assumed a power to imprison the German merchants, and to seize on their effects) was now quite abandoned;" and at *Bergen*—where the marks of the once important commerce of the League are more clearly seen than elsewhere—which had also become deserted by the Hanseatics by reason of the like arbitrary proceedings of the King of Denmark. The remaining comptoir had originally been at Bruges, but by reason of the decay of that once most opulent city, it had been first removed to Dort, and afterwards to Antwerp, where it continued to prosper for a considerable time hereafter.

There can be no doubt that the real decline of the power of the League is to be traced to the fact of its having become political and warlike instead of remaining commercial and peaceful; for if the latter policy had been pursued it might, and probably would, have rivalled and distanced all other trading enterprises of early date. Mr. Oddy's summing up on this point is instructive:

The Hanseatic Towns had, in those days, when they understood the nature and importance of commerce better than other nations, obtained from their merchants privileges that in times when those latter grew more enlightened, became burdensome and obnoxious; but the members of the League, by a fatality (if it may be so called), or at least by a conduct which is very common to nations and States in the time of prosperity, never took into account the changes that time and circumstances had brought about; they never considered that the time was past when they could either deceive, cajole, or coerce other Powers, and that therefore they must depend on prudent management for the preservation of those advantages they had obtained under more favourable circumstances.

The sort of treatment political resentment brought upon the League is very well shown in the following case. The ancient toll for passing the Sound had only been a golden rose-noble on every sail, which was always understood to be meant on every ship [the only reasonable construction]; but

the Court of Denmark had for some time past put a new and arbitrary construction on the word sail, by obliging all ships to pay a rose-noble for every sail in or belonging to each ship. Moreover, not content with this imposition, the same Government proceeded to lay a duty on the grain and other merchandise per last or ton, distinct from that on sails; which burdens obliged the Vandalic Hanse Towns to relinquish the Norway trade. And as they had vast dealings in transporting the grain of Poland and Livonia to other parts of Europe, these high tolls so discouraged them that they gradually left off that commerce, to which the Hollanders succeeded, and conducted with great advantage. As we have said, this is but one instance of a class.

1554. The English Mary having in the previous year married Philip, son of the Emperor, the prospects of the Hanseatics began, at least for the moment, to revive in England. Her first act in their behalf was to suspend the operation of the regulations imposing the higher duty upon their imports and exports for a period of three years. This led the ambassadors of the Free Cities of the League to point out that, by an act of the first year of her reign (1553) imposing certain customs or subsidies, called Tonnage and Poundage, they were more burdened than heretofore, "contrary to the effect of such charters and privileges as by sundry of her predecessors, Kings of England, had heretofore been granted to them." And the Queen being informed that the said declaration or complaint contained truth, and she being also desirous to observe and continue in equitable and reasonable sort the antient amity and intercourse which had been betwixt her dominions and the free cities of the Hanse Towns, commanded her Treasurers and Barons of the Exchequer, her Customers, Comptrollers, Searchers, &c., in London and other ports, freely to permit the said merchants of the Steelyard to import and export all merchandise not prohibited, without requiring any greater subsidy or custom than in the time of her father or brother. She also granted them a licence to export woollen cloths made in England, of the value of £6

sterling, or under, unrowed, unbarbed, and unshorn, without any penalty or forfeiture on account of certain Statutes of the 27th and 33rd years of King Henry VIII., prohibiting the said exportation; the merchants of the Steelyard representing to the Queen that the price of cloths was now so enhanced that they could send over none at all without incurring the penalties of those Acts.

The last portion of this record is not by any means so clear as it might be, but we have preferred to follow our authority ("Fœdera," xv., p. 364). The most remarkable portion, however, of the history in this reign remains yet to be told. The Queen afterwards revoked the said privileges, for that the Hanses had broken promises with her, in continuing an unlawful trade in the Low Countries, whereby she lost in eleven months, in her customs, more than £9,660, besides great damage to her subjects in their trade.—*Vide* Wheeler's "Treaties of Commerce," p. 100.

1558. Queen Elizabeth ascended the English throne. She and her advisers speedily found themselves involved in misunderstandings with the League; and it seems quite probable, from the recent course of events, that some so-called religious feeling was becoming introduced into the constantly recurring disputes. We shall, however, confine ourselves entirely to the commercial and political aspects, under their appropriate dates (see 1568 and 1578).

1568. We obtain in the following passage from Macpherson a more clear view of the causes of the disputes in this reign with the League than we have elsewhere seen:

"As England produced no military stores, Queen Elizabeth was obliged to buy all her gunpowder and naval stores from the German Steelyard merchants, at their own prices, there being as yet but few English merchants dealing in that way, and this was one of her greatest inducements to encourage commercial companies, whereby her own Merchants of Russia, and of the two Elder Companies of the Staple, and the Merchant Adventurers, were considerably increasing in trade—the former in the exportation of wool (not as yet legally prohibited); and the latter, of cloth, both to the great

advantage of the revenue. This made the Hanseatics labour to render these companies obnoxious to other nations by various calumnies; yet, in spite of their malice, an universal spirit of adventuring in foreign parts for discovery and traffic, as well as for improving manufactures at home, daily increased in England, whereby they soon became an overmatch in naval strength, commerce, and riches, for the declining Hanseatics, whose threatenings, therefore, the Queen disregarded; and Werdenhagen, their historian, a few years after this, acknowledges, that the English, in all those respects, as also in the bravery of their commanders and sailors, excelled the Hanse Towns; and Hamburg, though a potent Hanse Town, which had formerly rejected the English merchants, now began to court their residence, in consequence of which, they [the English merchants] removed from Emden to Hamburg, whence they soon extended their commerce into Saxony, Prussia, and Russia, which gave great umbrage to the Danes."—"Annals of Commerce," ii., p. 150 (see 1578).

1572. The League was again in dispute. This time it arose out of a peace concluded between the city of Lubeck and King John of Sweden, after a war of eight years; one of the articles of which was, that the Lubeckers might freely trade with Livonian Narva, then in the hands of Russia. This the Swedish monarch afterwards disregarded, he being himself at war with Russia. A Grand Assembly of the Deputies of the Hanse Towns was hereupon convened; but it does not appear that any effectual measures were devised or applied. This indicates the declining power of the League.

1578. It had been the manifest policy of the Queen to keep the Hanseatics in suspense regarding the renewal of their privileges, until her own subjects had felt their way in respect to the increase of their foreign trade and shipping—and, as we have seen, the progress in these respects was most satisfactory. The League, finding it could not shake her firmness, applied to the Emperor Rodolph II., as their sovereign, urging the necessity of compelling her to reinstate them in their immunities, and particularly that of paying only the ancient custom of 1 per cent. The Queen replied to that Emperor's remonstrances, that she had done the

Hanseatics no kind of wrong, having treated them on the same footing in which she had found them at her accession to the crown; it was her sister who had abolished the old duty, and laid on that now subsisting.

This answer was deemed to be far from satisfactory, and led to retaliatory measures on each side. The Hanseatics growing louder in their complaints all over Germany, they at length issued a prohibition of the English merchants to reside any longer in Hamburg; whereupon the Queen published a declaration, annulling all the ancient immunities of the League in England, and only allowing them the same commercial privileges that other foreigners enjoyed. Soon after, she prohibited all foreigners, and particularly the Hanse or Steelyard merchants by name, from exporting English wool. This prohibition was said to be greatly owing to the industrious Protestant Netherlanders, lately driven out by the Spanish governors, and settled in England, having advised the prohibition of unmanufactured wool. It was a great blow to the Hanseatics.

1579. A general assembly of the Hanse delegates assembled at Lunenburg this year, laid a duty of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on all goods imported into their territories by Englishmen, or exported by them; whereupon Queen Elizabeth laid a like duty of $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on all merchandise imported or exported by the German Steelyard merchants. Thus matters became more and more embroiled between England and the German Hanse Towns, "the magnanimous Queen (says Macpherson) being firmly determined never to yield to their unreasonable demands."

1587. About this time the Queen granted to the Steelyard merchants the same commercial privileges and immunities, in point of customs on commerce, as were enjoyed by her own natural-born subjects; provided, however, that her English merchants at Hamburg were equally well treated, which yet did not give them entire content. In the meantime, the Queen being at war with Spain, gave the Hanse Towns due notice not to carry into Spain, Portugal, nor Italy, provisions,

naval stores, or implements of war, for the King of Spain's use, under forfeiture thereof, and even of corporal punishment.

1589. The final breach between Elizabeth and the Hanse Towns arose out of the events of this year, in the following shape. The Queen determined to avenge the Armada of last year by a return cruise of private adventurers, led and protected by six vessels of the Royal Navy, and some Dutch ships. The number of ships so collected is stated to have been 146. In the Tagus, this expedition took some 60 hulks (or Fly-boats) of the German Hanse Towns, laden with wheat and warlike stores, to furnish the new armada against England. The cargoes were retained, but the ships were released. These ships had sailed from their ports by way of the North Sea, and the West Coast of Ireland, and so had escaped observation, and earlier capture. The Queen having forewarned the Hanse Towns in 1587 (as we have seen) against sending any such stores, the capture was quite legal, but it involved several years of correspondence and remonstrance from some of the Towns of the Empire, and of Poland and Dantzic—they being deeply interested in this seizure. In the end it led *to a final breach between England and the Hanse Towns*, as will be seen.

1591. An assemblage of some of the principal members of the League took place at Lubeck this year. Its immediate object was to remonstrate with Elizabeth for the course she had taken. They embodied a style of indignation, reproach and menace, in their communications to which the Queen answered: that she was willing to attribute their want of respect to their amanuensis or secretary, but that she set no sort of value upon their hostile intentions. The Hanseatics then set to work in another manner, not indeed new to them, by depreciating the company of English Merchant Adventurers. Such an attempt being made at Elbing, the Elbingers wrote a respectful letter to the Queen informing her of what had occurred, and of their intention to abide by the decision of the King and Diet of Poland; but in the meantime they would, under Her Majesty's protection

and authority, go on as their inclination led them in favour of her merchants. And King Sigismund of Poland, in a respectful letter to the Queen, also declared his approbation of the English Merchant Adventurers residing at Elbing, or anywhere in Poland.

This year, too, there was compiled a code of laws for the regulation of the maritime affairs of the League. The deputies called to their aid representatives from the free and maritime towns of the German Empire, whether in the Confederation or not. The League had first used the *Laws of Oleron*, and afterwards those of *Wisby*. It now found a code adapted to its own circumstances desirable. It is a remarkable feature of this Code *that it makes no reference whatever to marine insurance*, other than in its old form of Bottomry. The reason for this may well be, that the maritime operations of the Confederation were so large that the League undertook its own maritime risks, like some of the great steam shipping companies of the present day. Mr. Reddie thinks it possible that "its influential leaders may have seen in the transactions of insurance only a great innovation, of which the advantages were still not sufficiently developed to admit of any attempt to subject them to positive rules, and of which the conditions behoved in each case to be regulated by special contract."

1594. The Emperor Rodolph II. having written to the Queen in the preceding year respecting the grievances of the Hanse Towns—therein styled the "Maritime Cities of the Baltic League"—and to which position they were now indeed fast reverting, Elizabeth sent a special envoy to the Emperor to vindicate her conduct in the matter. He explained that the ancient privileges which the League formerly had in England, because of their abuse of them, and in consideration that they were incompatible with the good government of the realm, had been abrogated by Edward VI., yet the Queen had, in the beginning of her reign, granted them to trade on the same terms as her own subjects, and so on, as I have already set forth. He urged that in all kingdoms some old usages and privileges are by change of circumstances taken

away, particularly for the abuse of them. The Hanses had no cause to complain of England, but of themselves!

1595. This year the Lord Mayor of London received from the Lords of the Council a letter, dated 5th October, directing him to appoint some of the Aldermen of the City to consult with the Alderman of the Steelyard *with reference to the saltpetre men* appointed to dig and make saltpetre in their house.

The Lord Mayor replied on the following day that certain Aldermen and others, with the Lieutenant of the Ordnance had viewed the rooms within the Steelyard, where the saltpetre men were to dig, under warrant for saltpetre, and had delivered a certificate enclosed. *They found by the complaints of the citizens that the said saltpetre men entered into houses, shops, and warehouses of poor artificers within the city to dig for saltpetre to the great hindrance of their trade.* He, therefore, requested that they might be admonished and charged to use more discretion and moderation in the execution of their warrant.*—*Remembrancia*, 214–15 (see again 1613).

* There is a remarkable history concerning this question of saltpetre. Before the discovery and importation of Indian nitre, saltpetre was manufactured from earth impregnated with animal matter, and being the chief ingredient of gunpowder, was claimed by the Government, and in most countries became a State monopoly. Patents for making saltpetre were specially exempted in 1624 from the statute against monopolies (21 Jac. I. c. iii. s. 10), and the saltpetre man was empowered to break open all premises, and to dig up the floors of stables, and even dwelling-houses. This privilege was very scrupulously exercised, an instance of which may be seen in Archbishop Laud's "Diary" (1624, Dec. 13th), that the "Saltpetre men had digged in the Colledge Church of Brecknock for his work [material] bearing too bold upon his commission." Charles I., in 1625, and again in 1664, commanded by Proclamation, that no dovehouse or stable should be paved, but should lie open for the growth of saltpetre, and that none should presume to hinder any saltpetre man from digging where he thought proper. The vexation and oppression of the King's subjects by the saltpetre men is especially mentioned in the famous "Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom" in 1641, and no effectual remedy was applied until 1656, when it was enacted that no saltpetre man should dig within any houses or lands without previously obtaining the leave of the owner. This vexatious prerogative of the Crown was maintained in *France* until 1778, and was not abolished in *Prussia* until 1798.—Waters's *Parish Registers*, p. 37.

EXPULSION FROM ENGLAND.

1597. The merchants of the League still pursued their later policy of opposing the operations of the English Merchant Adventurers in Germany, in the belief that the Queen would gladly restore the ancient privileges of the Hanse merchants in England, in order to protect those of the company named. Herein they greatly erred, for such was not the policy of the Crown. The Queen, as a matter of decorum, demanded a revocation of the Imperial edict, by which the comptoir of the English company was to be excluded from Staden, and the merchants from other parts of Germany. She then, without further delay, directed a Commission to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London to shut up the house inhabited by the merchants of the Hanse Towns in the Steelyard, London. And, moreover, ordered all the Germans there, and everywhere else throughout England, to quit her dominions *on the very day on which the English were obliged to leave Staden!*

1601. At the beginning of this century the merchants of Hamburg and other of the Hanse Towns made regular annual voyages up the Mediterranean as far as Venice, to their great profit. But Amsterdam was now fast absorbing this trade, and finally monopolized it. Formerly the League had traded to Florence, Genoa, and Messina for silk, in exchange for their grain; and the ships of Lubeck, Wismar, and Straelsund then also used to frequent the ports of Spain, till supplanted therein also by the more dexterous Hollanders.

Wheeler, first the secretary, then the advocate, and finally historian of the English Merchant Adventurers' Company—which company unquestionably did much to hasten the downfall of the League—became, as a matter of course, the great antagonist of the Hanseatics. In his "Commerce," written this year, he makes no attempt to conceal his pleasure that the power and strength of the League were so much decayed that the State need not greatly fear it. For the causes which made the Hanse Towns of estimation and account in old times were (he truly says) the multitude of their ships and sea trade, whereby they stored all (European) countries with

flax, hemp, linen, iron, copper, grain, and naval stores, etc., and served princes with their large and stout ships in time of war. It would be found they had now lost these advantages. If her majesty should forbid all trade into Spain, as other princes had done, further advantages to the League would be lost; for that trade was now its chiefest support. "Besides of the seventy-two Confederate Hanse Towns so much vaunted of, what remains almost but the report? And those which remain, and appear by their deputies when there is any assembly, are they able, but with much ado, to bring up the charges and contributions, &c., for the defence and maintenance of their League, privileges, and trade, in foreign parts and at home? Surely no! for most of their teeth are out, and the rest but loose!" etc.

It is curious to note the influence of the disruption of the League upon certain cities which had belonged to the confederation. Hamburg, which appears to have been one of the first towns which took any steps in the direction of the formation of the League, but which in the days of its power appeared to be treated with coolness—was this through the jealousy of Lubeck?—Hamburg now rose to a greater point of importance than it had ever occupied previously, and at the close of this century was ranked next to London and Amsterdam. It had still continued to increase. Lubeck, it was evident, owed much of its importance to the influence of the League; and declined rapidly on its dissolution. Bremen the same. Dantzic became rapidly advanced in importance. Many of the Baltic cities lost their importance almost entirely. Trade now followed, in fact, its natural and unrestricted channels. First England, and then Holland, gained most by the change.

ATTEMPTED RESUSCITATION.

1604. An Assembly of Hanseatic Deputies now appointed a solemn Embassy to foreign nations for the renewal of their mercantile privileges, in the name of the cities of Lubeck, Dantzic, Cologne, Hamburg, and Bremen. They first addressed the English monarch, King James, who because they

brought no letters from the Emperor of Germany, soon dismissed them with the following answer from his Privy Council:—That as their privileges were heretofore adjudged to be forfeited, and thereupon resumed by the King's predecessors, in respect of the breach of conditions on their part, so it can no way stand with the good of the State to restore them again to the said privileges." And with this answer they departed, nothing contented.

The Hanseatics went thence to the Court of France, where they met with abundance of good words, but nothing else; and then they went to the Court of Spain, where, probably for the Emperor's sake, they had some success.—*Macpherson*, ii., p. 240.

1612. The Baltic Hanse Towns were greatly oppressed in their commerce by the additional dues which Denmark (again at war with Sweden) had imposed upon all ships passing the Sound. The Lubeckers made a league with Holland for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation—determining to send an armed force to the Sound for that end. Other of the Hanse Towns soon came into the arrangement. The King of Denmark now claimed that he was Lord of the Baltic Sea. This circumstance (as affecting the growing commerce of England) probably induced King James to join with Holland and the Hanse Towns in a complaint; and the tolls were now reduced to the same rate as before the present war. It certainly was a remarkable incident to find England so soon operating in conjunction with the League; but as we have before remarked, it is impossible to predict the shape or direction political or commercial interests may assume. We must see what followed.

1613. In order to guard against future encroachments by Denmark the Dutch this year contracted an alliance with the Hanse Towns in general—and a more special one with Lubeck two years later (1615), wherein they agreed to stand by each other against all impositions. Macpherson remarks hereon:

"This effort of the declining Hanse Towns to draw the Dutch into a confederacy with them for the freedom of commerce, did, by

the powerful conjunction of England, produce the desired effect. Yet, in general, it was unlikely that any durable confederacy (and much less an union, as some then proposed) could take place between the Dutch and so great a number of widely dispersed towns, with interests almost as different as their situations; overawed, too, by the greater potentates near them, since they have become so strong in shipping. Such an union, therefore, could not be advantageous to the Dutch, whose aim always was to gain ground everywhere in commerce, and who now for more than a century have engrossed the greatest part of the commerce of the Baltic, and thereby have rendered most of the Hanseatic powers on that sea as empty of good shipping as their exchanges are now of rich merchants."

It turned out in truth that this present effort was but a parting flicker; for Werdenhagen records that "about this time the Swedes treated as enemies all such merchants as did not take out licences from their king for liberty to trade thither; *so that the Easterling Hanse Towns, being pressed with difficulties on every side, were obliged to relinquish a great part of their ancient commerce, which gradually brought on their great present declension.*" This was written in 1630.

The saltpetre question, which had come up in 1595, was again brought to the front this year in the following manner. The Earl of Worcester addressed a letter to the Lord Mayor (date "Sept.") informing him that the King had by Letters Patent committed to his charge the making of Saltpetre and Gunpowder for the use of his majesty within his dominions, with power to appoint deputies, and requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen *to prevent any persons digging for, or making, Saltpetre within the City and Liberties*, except John Evelyn, Esq., of Godstone, Surrey, his factor, servants, etc., to aid him in the performance of the business, *and in the event of any other person being found working to require them to cease*, taking bond from them either to do so, or appear before the Privy Council.* This was evidently a curtailment of the privileges of the League in England.

* A licence was granted to the Earl of Worcester for the sole making of Saltpetre and Gunpowder in England and Ireland for twenty-one

1622. The progress of the English Russian, the East India, and the Merchant Adventurers' Companies, and their building "many stout ships," had further interfered with the commerce of the Hanse Towns; and those on the southern shores of the Baltic were reported as greatly decayed at this date.

1630. This year Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, having entered Germany with an army, occasioned much damage to the commerce of the Hanse Towns by the devastations committed by his troops. In that King's manifesto he accuses the Imperialists "of forbidding his merchants all freedom of commerce; seizing on their merchandise, and confiscating their ships, under the pretence of establishing a general commerce at Lubeck for the Hanse Towns; which, in effect, was driving the Swedes from the whole commerce of the Baltic, and erecting a naval force at the expense of his merchants, in order freely to ravage and pirate in that sea; having newly created an unheard-of dignity of a General of the Seas for that purpose, and possessed themselves of the forts and fortified places of Mecklenburg and Pomerania: fortifying the port of the Free Hanseatic City of Straelsund for a receptacle and retreat to their pirates." This was probably an overdrawn view; but it at least goes to show that the Baltic portion of the League was "dying hard."

THE END.

It is stated that in consequence of this manifesto, a General Diet was this year convened at Lubeck, *but that none of the cities sent their representatives, except to notify the resolution which they had taken to abandon it.* This statement

years, revocable at pleasure, dated May 8, 1607. An Indenture was signed by the King and the Earl of Worcester, the latter agreeing to deliver eighty lasts of gunpowder per annum at the Tower of London, at 8d. per pound, and as much more as might be required at 9d., dated May 8, 1607. See *Calendar of State Papers*, 1603—10. Another grant was made to the Earl, with some alterations from his former commission in 1616; of which he gave notice to the Lord Mayor in a letter dated "Worcester House, June 13, 1617." *Remembrancia*, pp. 218, 219.

I take upon the authority of Mr. Reddie ("Historical View of the Law of Maritime Commerce, 1841"), who does not give any authority for it; but his name will be deemed sufficient by all who know his works. He adds:—

This dissolution of the confederacy, however, proved so far beneficial to some of its parts. The cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, in particular, gained in opulence what they had lost in power. Finding themselves no longer at the head of an ambitious League, which had enabled them to exercise a kind of commercial despotism over their neighbours, they adopted milder maxims of trade; and contenting themselves with the peaceful interchange of commodities, preserved, with a recent temporary interruption, their liberties and political independence.

1647. It seems probable that the alliance formed between various cities of the League and Holland in 1612, continued all through the long and sanguinary wars between Austria on the one side, and France and Sweden on the other, and the less tardy warfare between the United Provinces of the Netherlands on the one side and Spain on the other. The famous Treaty of Westphalia, concluded this year, terminated these contentions, and pacified for the moment the great potentates of Europe—England (who was not a party to the treaty) perhaps alone excepted. It was stipulated that the Hanse Towns should enjoy all the same rights, privileges, etc., in the dominions of Spain, which by this treaty were or should be granted to the subjects of the States-General; and reciprocally the subjects of the States-General were to enjoy the same privileges, etc., in Spain as the Hanseatics: whether for established consultation in the capital forts of Spain, or elsewhere, as should be needful, or for the freedom of their merchants, factors, etc., and in like sort as the Hanse Towns had formerly enjoyed, or should hereafter obtain for the security of their navigation and commerce! Here was the only spirit still retained. It was battling for the shadow only: the substance was already gone! From that hour I trace no more, even a mention of the League, in the great

commercial history of Europe. It had played its part; it was now dead; but will never be forgotten!

I confess I cannot write these last words without a feeling of sorrow, of real regret, at the mutability of worldly affairs, as evinced in the preceding history. Here is a combination which had played a most important part, not only in the commercial progress, but more or less in the political supremacy of Europe for four centuries—a longer period, I believe I am right in saying, than is claimed for any other known combination, commercial or political. It had, during the greater portion of that period, been a most potent power. It had, without much doubt, subsidized our kings in earlier times. Our English Henry III. indeed had incorporated its representatives in England as a Trading Guild, in acknowledgment of the assistance of the League in his naval wars, and also for money lent him! The French Kings, Louis XI., Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. had bestowed great privileges on it. The Emperor Charles V. had availed himself of its bounty. It had aided in creating, as in dethroning, many Kings and Princes; and the only monument of its own greatness lives in the memories of the few who have made its real history a matter of personal study!

NOTE.

I think it better to add the enactment of 1523, which I have referred to under date 1503, but have not included in the text.

1523. By 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 29, "per M'catoribz de Hansa," it was enacted as follows:—

"Provyded always that none Acte, Statute, or Ordenaunce had made or to be made in this present Parliament in any manner of wyse extend or be prejudiciall or hurtfull unto the merchauntes of the Hanse of Almayn or to any of them havyng the House withyn the Citie of London, commonly called Guyldhalda Theotonicorum, by what name or names they or any of them be named or called: any Acte, Statutes or Ordenaunces made or to be made to the contrary in anywise notwithstondying."

The Acts against which this is intended to give exemption were

probably the following, but many like exemptions will be found in various statutes :—

Cha. I. The Act concernyng the conveying, transportyng and cariyng of Brode Whyte Wollen Clothes out of this Realme.

Cha. IV. An Acte for payment of Custome.

The following additional notes as to the internal regulations of the League will help to complete our outline.

The discipline at the Factories was of the strictest nature, and the ordeals the acolyte merchants underwent would be deemed incredible, if they were not vouched on authority. The initiations were termed "plays," and were more than thirty in number, but the three principal ones were *smoke*, *water*, and the scourge; these were exercised with such severity that the candidates sometimes sank under the operation.

In London, as in the other Hanseatic comptoirs, all the meals were taken at a common table, but these merchants lived well, and ate and drank the best of everything the world could afford. The government of the Steelyard was through a council of twelve members—a master or alderman, two assessors, and nine common councilmen, elected annually. *This was in fact an independent civil government, not subject to the common law of England.* Every New Year's eve there was a general meeting for the transaction of business and election of officers. The oath of installation was as follows :—

"We promise and swear to keep and uphold, all and every, the rights and privileges of the Hanse merchants in England, as well as to obey the laws and regulations made for them, all to the best of our abilities; and we promise and swear to deal justly towards every one, whether powerful or humble, rich or poor, so help us God and His saints."

It would seem but reasonable that a society which required such an oath, and officers who subscribed to it, must have been honourable in nature and intentions; and, indeed, it must be admitted to the credit of these merchants, that their dealings were honorable to a degree which would shame much of the business of the present day. They endeavoured to monopolize trade, as they felt to be their duty towards their principals, and they stood stoutly for rights and privileges which, by long use, they had considered as absolutely vested in their League. They did not appreciate the fact that they were absorbing rights and business which belonged to the nation at large, and in this feeling they were not one whit worse than many of their com-

mercial descendants, who do not monopolize trade simply because they cannot.—*Vide Exchange and Review.*

As I have already said, the enactments of the League attest the importance in which it held fidelity in the execution of mercantile engagements, without which there cannot exist any true or genuine credit. He who, having borrowed in one city of the confederacy, did not pay his debt, or who, having lent money upon pledges in security, carried off what his debtor had thus entrusted to him, forfeited the status of a Hanseatic citizen. A debtor, excluded from one of the confederated cities on account of his debts, could not find an asylum in any other of these cities. The bankrupt whose flight had been advertised, with a description of his person, behoved to be arrested wherever he could be found, and, if fraudulent, exposed in public, loaded with irons, if not punished with death!

The ordinances of the League also contain numerous regulations relative to fidelity in weights and measures, and the quality of different kinds of merchandise, relative to the capacity and exterior marks of casks in which were contained certain commodities that were purchased and re-sold by wholesale; and against the debasement of coined money. Some also related to the good order of corporations of tradesmen, to apprenticeships, and to the obligations of agents and commission men (*præpositi*) to render accounts to their principals or constituents.

Nor are we surprised to find special regulations for the commerce of salt; prohibitions against the sale of herrings not yet caught, of grain not yet reaped, and of cloth not yet woven; against the exportation of cloth to be dyed in another place than that in which it was woven; against the exportation of gold and silver to be wrought and manufactured in a foreign country; against selling cloths with a false dye, or perfume of which the quality was adulterated!

There is reason to believe that the contract of exchanges was practised amongst the inhabitants of the Hanse Towns. — *Vide* Reddie's *Maritime Commerce*, p. 256-7.

In the great "staplehouses" in London, as well as in the smaller ones at Boston and Lynn, there were stored immense quantities of raw products, principally wool, tin, and hides—which were exported from England—as also numerous articles received in exchange from abroad, enumerated by Stow, as "wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, ropes, masts, pitch, tar, flax, hemp, linen cloth waistcoats, wax, steel, and other profitable merchandise."

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DUBRAVIUS, BISHOP OF OLMUTZ (1542—1553).

By the Rev. Albert H. Wratislaw, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc.,
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What angler has not been, if he be not still, a reader of Izaak Walton? And what reader of Izaak Walton has not observed his frequent quotations from Dubravius, and been amused by that wonderful account of the victory of a frog over a pike, of which Dubravius declares he was himself an eye-witness, but which reads far more like a dream than a reality? And the name of this same Dubravius has lately been brought before the public by Mr. Frank Buckland, as that of the author of an excellent recommendation in the management of fish-ponds, a means of producing food so sadly neglected in this country, viz.: to draw off the water every third or fourth year and sow a crop of oats on the rich mud collected at the bottom. It may not therefore be uninteresting, if I give a brief account of the life and writings of Dubravius, who was a man of considerable mark in his day in the political and ecclesiastical, as well as in the piscicultural world.

John of Doubravka and Hradisch was born about the year 1489 in the town of Pilsen in Bohemia, of Catholic parents, who appear to have been fairly well-to-do people. His father is said to have borne the name of Skala (Rock), a name of which he himself made use until he acquired the arms and addition of Doubravka and Hradisch. He was brought up in the Catholic faith, and received his elementary education in the grammar school at Pilsen, but, as he soon exhibited unusual aptitude and intelligence, he was sent abroad for his higher education, the University of Prague being at

that time entirely in the hands of the Utraquists. He studied for some time in the gymnasium at Vienna, where a well-known classical scholar, Conrad Celtes, was teaching. Here he made such progress in classical oratory and poetry, and in all branches of the "Humanities," that some of his productions attracted the especial attention of the scholars there residing. In particular he wrote a learned and ingenious commentary on Martianus Capella's "Nuptials of Mercury and Philology," which he afterwards printed (1526) and dedicated to Bishop Stanislas Thurzo.

From Vienna Dubravius went into Italy, where he visited the seats of the higher learning, and obtained at Padua the dignity of Doctor of Ecclesiastical Law. Towards the end of 1511 or beginning of 1512 he returned to Bohemia, and was immediately invited to the Palace of the then Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislas Thurzo, an educated and enlightened man, who was the friend and patron of the most important "Humanists" of that date, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Conrad Celtes, and others, whose names are better known in the East than in the West of Europe. Thurzo, observing his talent, made him his private secretary and procured his nomination to a canonry in the chapter of Olmütz. Ere long the office of Archdeacon of Olmütz fell vacant, and the Bishop procured his promotion to that Archdeaconcy as well as to the office of Provost at Kremsier and Olbramskastel. Being now regularly attached to the household of Bishop Thurzo, he had every opportunity of making the acquaintance not only of the learned living in Moravia, but of many powerful and influential people, whose houses he visited in attendance on his Bishop.

In 1515 King Sigismund of Poland, on his return from a conference at Vienna with his brother Vladislaw, King of Bohemia and Hungary, and the Emperor Maximilian I., respecting reciprocal family alliances, was splendidly entertained by Bishop Thurzo in his palaces at Kremsier and Vyskow. By his versatility and eloquence Dubravius so attracted Sigismund's attention, that in 1518 Sigismund sent

him with several Polish lords and Lord William of Kunstat to the town of Bari in Naples and to the court of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to obtain for Sigismund the hand of Bona, the Duke's daughter, in marriage. The negotiation was successfuly conducted by Dubravius, and the gratitude and favour of the King of Poland earned by him for life.

In 1517 King Lewis of Bohemia was crowned at Prague. The Archbishopric of Prague being still in abeyance owing to the persistent refusal of successive Popes to execute the "compactata" agreed upon by the Council of Basle Stanislas Thurzo, Bishop of Olmütz, officiated, and his constant attendant Dubravius was among the persons then raised to the dignity of Knighthood, thus becoming an "*eques auratus*." On the petition of Kasper Eberwein of Hradisch, a little village about 3½ English miles north of Pilsen, King Lewis in 1522 granted the arms of Eberwein and the addition of Doubravka (a larger village about 4½ miles east of Pilsen) and Hradisch to JOHN SKALA (our Dubravius) and others, whom he also raised to the social dignity of Vladyky or Esquires.

About this time the new doctrines of Luther began to spread in Moravia in general, and the town of Iglau in particular. The town council of that place had invited Paulus Speratus from Germany to take the position of Curé there, and he, in spite of mandates and prohibitions, persevered in preaching and promulgating the new doctrines in the surrounding district and the neighbouring towns. He was accordingly arrested by orders of the king, and delivered to Bishop Stanislas Thurzo to be better instructed, and, if possible, induced to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church. This duty was entrusted to Dubravius, now the bishop's chancellor, whose most zealous endeavours were, however, in vain, and Speratus was condemned by the king and his council to death at the stake, as a heretic, a sentence which, at the intercession of many Bohemian and Moravian nobles, was commuted for one of perpetual banishment from all lands appertaining to the Bohemian crown.

Dubravius took part in various meetings and conferences occasioned by the inroads of the Turkish Sultan Soliman into Hungary, which preceded the fatal battle of Mohacs, in which King Lewis lost his life (November 28, 1526). For his services the king granted him the castle and town of Bretzslaw in fee and freehold, releasing them from all seignorial rights.

When, after that fatal battle, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, husband of the Bohemian Princess, Anna Jagellovna, was elected King of Bohemia, the royal pair—the Archbishopric of Prague being still in abeyance—were crowned by the Bishop of Olmütz, in attendance on whom we find of course our friend Dubravius. Not long afterwards John Zapolsky was elected King of Hungary by some of the Hungarian magnates, and accepted the crown in fief from the victorious Sultan Soliman, but received such an overthrow from Ferdinand, that he fled for refuge to his relative, Sigismund, King of Poland, an event which was considered very threatening to all the lands of the Bohemian crown. The Estates therefore met at Prague in 1528, and determined to send an embassy to the King of Poland, requesting his aid and especially the assistance of his light cavalry against the common enemy of Christendom. Dubravius was with one assent placed at the head of the embassy, not only as a man of ability and celebrity in such matters, but also as enjoying the especial favour of the King of Poland on account of his successful conduct of the negotiations respecting Sigismund's marriage with the Italian Princess Bona. Dubravius pronounced a magnificent oration before the king, but was unable to obtain from him more than a promise of neutrality between Ferdinand and Zapolsky, a promise which he also kept faithfully.

In 1529 Sultan Soliman invaded Hungary again, marched up to the walls of Vienna, and commenced to besiege it, and his wild hordes made plundering forays into Bohemia. The Bohemian and Moravian Estates sent a considerable force to the relief of Vienna, and in the Moravian contingent was a

regiment furnished by the Bishop of Olmütz, at the head of which was Dubravius, who distinguished himself now as a military commander as much as he had formerly done in a civil capacity.

In 1531, "Doctor John, of Doubravka and Blansko, archdeacon and vassal of the Bishop of Olmütz," was elected a member of the committee for drawing up the rules and regulations for the conduct of the Grand Court of Justice of Moravia. He was also made a member of a similar committee for the regulation of the country in 1535.

In 1540 Bishop Stanislas Thurzo died, and Bernard Boubek, of Detin, was elected his successor. He, however, also died before receiving the papal confirmation of his election. The bishopric of Olmütz was, therefore, again vacant, and there were two rival candidates for the office—on the one hand, John Horak, of Milesovka, canon of Olmütz and Breslau and tutor of King Ferdinand's children, and, on the other, Dubravius. These candidates were so equal in merit, and in the support they respectively received in the chapter, that it was much feared the nomination to the See might lapse to the Roman Curia, and a foreigner be appointed. The rivals, therefore, came to an agreement together, by which Horak resigned all claim to the bishopric, and Dubravius engaged, if elected bishop, to procure the nomination of Horak as his coadjutor, with an annual salary of 600 Moravian florins, and apply to the Pope for his confirmation as such. Thus Horak withdrew from his candidature, and Dubravius was unanimously elected Bishop of Olmütz. His election was confirmed by Pope Paul III. by a Bull dated June 27, 1541, and he was consecrated by the Suffragan Bishop of Cracow, and solemnly installed in his See on January 2, 1542. The arrangement with regard to Horak was also confirmed and carried into execution.

But no sooner was Dubravius placed in possession of his episcopal See and the estates thereto appertaining, than he was brought into no small financial distress. King Ferdinand, who, owing to the disturbances and wars both in the empire

and in Hungary, was perpetually in pecuniary difficulties, had been in the habit of applying for assistance to the Bishops of Olmütz, and Dubravius's predecessors had already burthened the landed property of the See with considerable mortgages. On the present occasion Ferdinand applied for an advance of 3,000 Moravian florins, which was very hard upon Dubravius, who had already lent him large sums out of his own pocket, and even sold for that purpose part of his private property, and who was now, moreover, obliged to pay an annual salary to his coadjutor. He, therefore, requested his chapter to undertake to provide the sum demanded, or at any rate half of it, but we have no further direct information respecting the matter. Nevertheless, subsequent circumstances would appear to indicate that the king's wishes had been satisfied, and that he was duly grateful for the assistance rendered him.

As bishop, also, Dubravius continued to be employed in important negotiations and on important embassies. In 1543 he accompanied Ferdinand's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, at the head of a numerous and splendid suite, to Cracow, where her nuptials were celebrated, on May 23, with the young King of Poland, Sigismund Augustus. On this occasion Dubravius delivered an elaborate Latin oration, in which he depicted, with fervid and almost poetic eloquence, the noble character and extraordinary attractions of the bride, and pointed out how beneficial the alliance was likely to be to the kingdom of Poland, giving, as it did, the prospect of the valuable aid, not only of her father, Ferdinand, the powerful King of Bohemia and Hungary, but also of her still more powerful cousin, the Emperor Charles V.

The next year (1544) Bishop Dubravius was sent, in the month of February, to Prague to urge the Estates, then in Parliament assembled, to send an auxiliary force against the Turks, who were incessantly ravaging the land of Hungary. The Estates of Bohemia and Moravia granted a contingent of 3,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry, and afterwards of 500 more cavalry, who marched against the Turks under the

command of Lord Charles of Zerotin, a celebrated general and hero in those days. Dubravius took advantage of the occasion to converse with the principal Utraquist nobles and officials, as well as with the administrators of the Utraquist Consistory, and urge them to put an end to the long-continued religious differences, pointing out to them that the General Council then assembled at Trent offered an excellent opportunity of so doing. He particularly insisted upon the importance of placing an archbishop again in the See of Prague, it being highly inconvenient that so great and glorious a realm should remain without a spiritual head. Nor did his representations appear to be unsuccessful at the moment; but on his return home he learned that, though the Estates were willing enough to take up the question of the long-vacant archbishopric at their next meeting, yet they wanted to elect the archbishop according to their own will, and of their own authority in Parliament assembled, which Dubravius did not consider agreeable to the rules of the Church or suited to the requirements and interests of the country. He therefore wrote a formal letter from Kremsier in September, 1545, to the Estates and the Utraquist Consistory, detailing the evils that had arisen from the dissensions between the Greek and Roman Churches, appealing to the history of the Bohemian Church, which had always been connected with that of Rome and with the Pope until the Hussite times, and contending that it was impossible to find safety save in complete union with the Church of Rome, which would gladly receive the Bohemians into its bosom if they would but request it so to do. This, however, naturally, remained without effect, as the Bohemians were no more likely to surrender the Compactata, won at the point of the sword and solemnly granted to them by the Council of Basle, than the Pope was to fulfil the stipulations and engagements thereof.

A truce having been made with the Turks, it became incumbent upon King Ferdinand to settle the dispute between the Estates of Bohemia and those of the principalities

of Silesia as to the appointment of the chief officials in Silesia. "Matters," as the Silesian historian Henelius says, "were looking warlike," until the king commissioned Dubravius to act as mediator between the parties, and by him "they were settled with great dexterity."

Sectarianism was now spreading rapidly in Moravia, and, in particular, the Bohemian Brethren, or "Picards," the ancestors of the present "Moravian" Church, were daily increasing, finding not merely adherents among the common people, but zealous protectors among the higher and lower orders of nobility. Dubravius's predecessor, Stanislas Thurzo, had endeavoured to stem the current, but in vain; and now Dubravius himself took the matter up, and never rested till King Ferdinand issued a mandate, in 1546, by which the bishops and elders of the "Unitas fratrum" were exiled from the lands of the Bohemian crown. They obeyed the mandate, and emigrated into Prussia, but ere long returned, and found protection both in Bohemia and Moravia from their friends and favourers.

When the Bohemian Estates were preparing, in 1546, to resist King Ferdinand, who they well knew was plotting against both their civil and religious liberties, Dubravius was sent, along with the imperial Vice-Chancellor, into Bohemia to endeavour to induce the Estates to give up their alliance with the evangelical German princes against King Ferdinand. But his exertions were in vain as regards the majority, although successful in the case of many individuals, and the Estates refused Ferdinand all aid against the German princes, so that he was obliged to take the field with only the Moravian contingent in addition to his own forces. This was, as before, commanded by Lord Charles of Zerotin. Ferdinand was victorious over Frederic of Saxony at Mühlberg, and the Bohemian Estates had to pay the penalty justly incurred by their wavering and ambiguous conduct. It was clear enough that only two alternatives lay before them with any prospect of success, viz., the giving of vigorous and active aid to Frederic of Saxony and his allies or to their own king and

the emperor. They took up a position of armed neutrality, and allowed their friends to be destroyed before their eyes, while at the same time they hampered and inconvenienced their king in no inconsiderable degree. Bloody and cruel was the vengeance taken by Ferdinand, both by death and torture, upon the nobles and towns that had resisted him at what was termed "the bloody Parliament" (sniem krvavý), and heavy the confiscations inflicted and fines levied upon them; but it is gratifying to find that the influence of Dubravius was exerted on the side of clemency and lenity, and that he did his best to lighten the heavy burthens imposed upon the now defenceless adversaries of the ruthless Hapsburg.

The next year, 1548, Bishop Dubravius was vexed by a contest with the Estates of Moravia, respecting the rights and privileges of the See of Olmütz. All that we know of this dispute is, that he sent two of his canons, with a letter dated October 10th, 1548, to the Bishop of Vienna, asking him for his intercession with Ferdinand for the preservation of the rights and privileges of his See in their entirety and fulness. "We consider," writes he, "it to be a part of our duty to endeavour with all zeal to keep inviolate such privileges as have been obtained by our predecessors from the Kings of Bohemia, and Margraves of Moravia, and handed down, as it were, to us." It seems probable that Dubravius was not altogether unsuccessful, as in 1550—from gratitude—he gave up to King Ferdinand the village of Ujezd near Chyrlitz, receiving in return the tithe upon the mines of Polesovitz.

It is well known how cruel a persecution was carried on after the battle of Mühlberg against the "Unitas Fratrum," the Bohemian Brethren, how their priests and elders were prosecuted, imprisoned, and exiled, and how, in particular, their chief Bishop, John Augusta, was kept for sixteen years, and his companion, Jacob Bitek, for thirteen years in close and severe imprisonment at Krivoklat and elsewhere. But, although Dubravius had obtained from Ferdinand, as above mentioned, an edict for the expulsion of the Bishops of the Brethren from Moravia, yet he now exhibited great and

unlooked-for toleration in their case. Finding that other elements besides the "Unitas" had been at work in the rebellion, he took upon himself the part of a mediator at the request of the Estates in their Parliament, held at Prague after the Epiphany in 1552, and presented to Ferdinand their petition for the liberation of the imprisoned Brethren, and in particular of John Augusta. It was doubtless on account of this unexpected tolerance that some of the more zealous and fanatical Catholics did not hesitate to charge Dubravius with "neglecting his spouse, the Church of Christ, and failing to proceed with severity and energy against all apostates and heretics."

Having previously enjoyed excellent health and strength during life, Dubravius was on the 9th of September, 1553, struck with apoplexy, just as he was on the point of retiring from the dinner-table to his own room, and died the same day in his palace at Kremsier. His corpse was on the 12th removed from Kremsier to Olmütz in solemn procession, and there met by the chapter, the clergy, the town council, the guilds and orders of artizans, and large numbers of people from the town and neighbourhood. It was then borne to St. Peter's Church, outside the walls of Olmütz, and there interred, having been attended to the grave by the Lord Lieutenant of the province, by the lords and gentry then assembled in sessions, and by the soldiers quartered in Olmütz. Later it was transferred to the Cathedral Church where it was placed in a tomb by itself, next to that of Dubravius's predecessor, Stanislas Thurzo.

Dubravius had, as Bishop, been a considerable benefactor to his See, both by the erection of new buildings and by improvements in the farming and management of the episcopal estates. But it is as a literary man that he is most interesting, and on his literary works that his memory among posterity principally depends. Busied as he was with important political and ecclesiastical engagements, some of which necessitated long journeys into foreign countries, his contributions to literature were very numerous, although

unfortunately, as was too customary in those days, especially with Catholic literati, they are all in the Latin language, his own being completely neglected.

His first work was, as I have said, his commentary on Martianus Capella's "Nuptials of Mercury and Philology," published at Vienna in 1526, and dedicated to Bishop Stanislas Thurzo. In 1549 he printed, at Prostejoro (Prossnitz) in Moravia, his most important orations and letters, *i.e.*, "Oration addressed to Sigismund, King of Poland, against the Turks;" "Brief Oration on the Marriage of Sigismund the younger, King of Poland;" "Letter to the College at Prague, the members whereof call themselves Calixtines, concerning the Economy of the Church;" "Funeral Oration at the Burial of Sigismund, King of Poland." He also published a "Letter to Christopher of Zvola, canon of Olmütz, on the Liturgy," in which he writes learnedly and impressively of the significance and value of the various ceremonies, customs, and solemnities observed in the Catholic Church. Also a "Commentary on Psalm V.," dedicated to the Chapter of Olmütz, in which he analyzes and explains the psalm verse by verse, comparing passages of scripture and former explanations in such a manner as to show that he was well versed in scripture, and well read in the fathers, and in ecclesiastical literature in general.

When secretary of Bishop Stanislas and canon of Olmütz, Dubravius wrote a didactic work in Latin verse, entitled: "Theriobulia de regiis præceptis," dedicated to Louis, King of Hungary. In the dedication he says, "that he had long thought what he could compose for the king in proof of his faithful devotion to him. Then a little book chanced to fall into his hands, written in verse in his mother tongue, containing the counsel given by the birds and quadrupeds for the benefit of their good king, whereby he should regulate his conduct. This composition he turned into Latin verse, and dedicated to the young king." The Bohemian work in question is the "Nová Ráda," or "New Council," of Lord Smil Flaska of Pardubitz, which Dubravius rendered very freely,

with many embellishments and additions, into Latin verse. This was seen in MS. by Dubravius's relative, Leonard of Doubravka and Hradisch, who obtained permission to copy but not to publish it, but who did print and publish it at Nuremberg in 1520, and again at Cracow in 1521, dedicating it to Peter Krafft, Bishop of Ratisbon. It was a third time printed at Breslau in 1614, and appeared for the fourth time in J. H. Alstedius's "Compendium lexici philosophici, Herbornæ 1620." The simplicity and naïveté of Smil's work[1] is, however, terribly overlaid by the classical learning and excessive pedantry of Dubravius.

Dubravius's next considerable work is his treatise on fish-ponds and fish-culture, which he wrote in early life at the request of Bishop Stanislas Thurzo, but would not publish when promoted to ecclesiastical office, lest he should be thought too devoted to secular affairs, until at length he was prevailed upon by the importunity of his friends and relations to commit it to the press. It appeared in 1547 at Breslau, under the title: "Libellus de piscinis et piscium, qui in eis aluntur, naturâ." Ad Antonium Fuggerum. Vratislaviæ, typis Vinklerianis, XLVII. (1547) 12mo. pp. 93. Dubravius had in his younger days been intimate with the lords of Pernstein, who towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century had constructed a great many fish-ponds on their estates in Moravia and Bohemia, especially at Pardubitz in Bohemia, and had obtained great wealth from them. Dubravius was thus led to pay considerable attention to this branch of farming, which was then greatly neglected in Moravia and Hungary, where his relative Antonius Fugger possessed large estates and extensive fish-ponds. He published the work when already Bishop of Olmütz, with a two-fold dedication, addressing himself on the one hand to Francis Thurzo, Bishop of Neutra and nephew of the late Bishop

[1] An account of Smil Flaska's "Nová Ráda," with specimens, will be found in my "Lectures on the native Literature of Bohemia in the fourteenth century, delivered before the University of Oxford in 1877."

Stanislas Thurzo, and on the other to Antonius Fugger, possessor of a lordship in Hungary, with an ancient castle built by Constance, wife of the whilome King of Bohemia, Otakar I. (ob. 1230).

This work of Dubravius is divided into five books. In the first he treats of fish-ponds in general, their advantages and antiquity, and enumerates the various kinds of fish kept in them. In the second he deals with the situation and construction of fish-ponds and the manner in, and the materials with, which they ought to be enclosed. In the third he explains how the water should be let in and let off, with what kinds of fish they should be stocked, what proportion the different kinds should bear to one another, and what rules ought especially to be observed with regard to pike. The fourth book contains the duties of the fisherman or fish-pond manager, and points out what he ought to attend to at different seasons of the year, and how he should manage in case diseases arose among the fish. In the fifth book he gives instructions how the fish-ponds ought to be drawn, the preparations to be made, and rules observed in drawing them; how to draw them when the water is frozen; how old fish-ponds should be renovated; how often a pond ought to be drawn; and how the fish thus obtained should be kept in preserves (in vivariis), and that with especial reference to the ponds and preserves at Pardubitz, which was the model place of pisciculture in his days. Finally the excellent writer—unforgetful of his clerical office—exhorts the owners and proprietors of estates, however much they may desire to increase their revenues by the establishment of fish-ponds, not to do it to the detriment of their serfs, but to compensate them duly for all losses and inconveniences, and, speaking generally, not to desire to enrich themselves by another's loss.

This work obtained deserved celebrity, had considerable influence in Moravia, where pisciculture made rapid advances, and was reprinted in 1596 at Nuremberg, in 1671 at Helmstadt, and once more without mention of any locality. It was

translated into Polish by Andrew Praga, and published at Cracow in 1600, whence some of the historians of Polish literature have taken occasion to claim Dubravius himself for their own. It was also translated into English—a fact which appears unknown in Bohemia—and published in 4to. in 1599 by George Churchey, fellow of Lion's Inn, under the title: "A new book of good Husbandry, very pleasant, and of great profit, both for gentlemen and yeomen, containing the order and making of fish-ponds, &c."

But Dubravius's most extensive work was his "History of Bohemia," in twenty-three books, from the earliest times to the reign of Ferdinand I. The first edition was limited to 100 copies, and printed by John Günther, at Prossnitz, in 1552, and was dedicated to the newly-elected King of Bohemia, Maximilian, son of Ferdinand I., as a small but opportune present" ("munus exiguum sed opportunum"). In the early portions Dubravius exhibits himself as a florid and uncritical writer, making no distinction between legend and fact; but the part relating to his own days and the reigns of the Jagellon dynasty is of the highest value, and from him we learn the terrible state of moral decay into which both Bohemia and Hungary had fallen, and the contemptuous neglect with which the kings were treated by the arrogant Hungarian magnates. A second edition appeared at Basle in 1570, a third at Hanau in 1602, and a fourth along with the Bohemian "History of Æneas Silvius," at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, in 1687.

There is no doubt that Dubravius was well acquainted with his mother tongue, but, in common with the majority of "Humanists" and "Classicists" of his day in the east of Europe, he preferred to exhibit his skill in theLatin tongue, and that the more as the great mass of Bohemian literature, and the majority of its readers, were undoubtedly Utraquist, and in opposition to the Church of which he was a bishop.

Finally, we may safely conclude that Dubravius, though not exactly a saintly, was yet a good and useful bishop, an upright and honourable man and statesman, a first-rate diplo-

matist, well versed in literature both sacred and profane, accomplished and skilful in the use of his pen, though not above the faults and failings of the Latin writers of his day, attentive to the improvement of the temporalities, as well as the spiritualities of his see, alive to the temporal as well as spiritual interests of his country and his neighbours, and one on whom the only stigma that anybody has endeavoured to fasten is, that, when in power, he was unwilling to persecute.*

* I must acknowledge my obligations to two articles on Dubravius by A. Rybiczka in the Czasopis of the Bohemian Museum for 1878, and to Karel Tieftrunk's account of the resistance of the Estates of Bohemia to King Ferdinand I. in 1574. Odpor stavuv czeskych proti Ferdinandovi I. L. 1547. A. H. W.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVILIZATION OF THE WEST, FROM CHARLEMAGNE (*Transitio Imperii*) TO THE ERA OF THE CRUSADES (AND CONCORDAT, 1122).

By the Rev. W. J. Irons, D.D., Bampton Lecturer, 1870, Prebendary of St. Paul's, F.R. Hist. Soc.

The influence of Christianity on the Roman Empire, and so ultimately on modern Civilization, was immediately felt, as we first observed, in its action on the social system; and eventually in the formation of better public opinion in morals and Religion. The ideas of individual right and personal freedom (absolutely essential to the new faith which had appeared as the teacher of conscience), found their echo, and also in some sense a defined limit, in the advancing Roman Law; but the more active relations of the gradually-formed Christian Society to the State in which it took its mission would, as we saw, be much determined by the course of events, and by the action and development of the State itself. We must recall this.—

After the fall of Jerusalem, Christianity had no political or local centre, and naturally gravitated to Rome, the ruler of the nations, since the mission of the Church was to "all the world." Christianity, in carrying out her religious mission, was at once the enemy of Roman as well as other Paganism; but it took time specially to disengage itself from Judaism as a national Religion. Perhaps it were more exact to say that it chiefly outlived Judaistic ideas while forming cosmopolite settlements in the great cities of the West. The "Perpetual Edict,"—followed by the social reforms of Hadrian,—reflected, even if unconsciously, the Ethical growth stimulated by Christianity. The Pagan Religions known to Rome really admitted of no revival; and Rome, as the head and law-

giver of the Empire, while dropping the old superstitions, still naturally attracted to itself all that was found most influential in moral and political life. Religious Eclecticism, as at Alexandria, was a dream ; and it came too late.—So, from the first, the union of Christianity with the Empire seemed inevitable, and events tended to make the two conterminous for the time. A State always has a Religious understanding with Conscience.

It has been fancifully supposed by recent speculators in history, that Rome had always some mysterious instinct, appropriating, both imperially and locally, the elements of future power and moral greatness; in which speculation M. Renan follows close on the mild fanaticism of Mr. Formby (one of the most interesting converts to modern "Catholicism"). But the transfer of the seat of Empire to Constantinople (339), and then the divisions of East and West, and the abortive attempts to re-assert the City of Rome as, necessarily, the capital of the world, sufficiently dissipate this fancy, whether of ecclesiastic or sceptic (quite apart from the consideration of the present condition and prospects of Germany, or France, or the Italian peninsula). Still the fact remains, that the great Empire itself, wherever its seat was held, and whether divided or not, really drew to itself, and long retained, the reverence of the world; and Christianity from the first had, in the very nature of the case, to acquire and establish relations with it, as the Civil Power, "the minister of God for good,"—(as it admitted),—without which its immediate mission could hardly proceed to mankind.

1. We have briefly, in former pages, traced the course of those advancing relations of the religious and political elements from the days of the Cæsars to those of Charlemagne ; and have found the Code of the Christian Church gradually incorporated into that of the Empire by the time of Theodosius. As a consequence, the general organization of the Church in the whole Empire was recognised ; and at last it penetrated more or less the laws and institutions of the invading

barbarians,—to some extent morally subdued by the grand power which they so rudely shattered. During these eight centuries the State (in its own belief) ruled the Church, and the Church (on its own view also) acquiesced as in duty; though scarcely with a clear understanding.

The relations no doubt were theoretically indefinite, but jurists and ecclesiastics had inevitably to work together in that most trying period of the Education of the nations. The *de facto* governors of the uncultivated masses of men found churchmen even essential at the time; and so Emperors and Kings learnt how to work with the Church and her Councils, Government could not, in fact, go on in any other way.

The coronation of Charlemagne at length gave to Civilization a new point of departure. There had been confusion in the minds of all men as to the fundamental principle, Religious or Civil, on which the great order of human society should proceed. The Roman Civilization had actually, since 476, become, through the barbarians, more demoralized than it had probably ever been since Augustus. The Episcopal and Monastic schools, which at first were doing so much to form and instruct the people generally, had after the sixth century well-nigh ceased to exist. The "dignity of Rome" and of the "Imperial law" still penetrated the rude multitude; and this became even as an instinct, not long afterwards expressed in the historical title, "*Holy* Roman Empire." It was a name implying the sacredness of the LAW, *i.e.*, the secular dominion, as such;—(a phrase indirectly illuminating, for coming times, the "Holy See" of the Imperial city of the West). Meanwhile, all was deteriorating. Facts, however, by the 8th century, determined themselves; for the nations could no more wait. Events pressed. Leo III. had, almost by the accident of the hour, crowned Charlemagne (800). The people were fascinated, and some thought "the less was blessed by the better." And now the question, always latent, was to be brought into the light of day, "Which was to rule the world,—the ecclesiastical power or the civil?"

The great Emperor seems to have understood his mission

from the first. He had need of Ecclesiastics, and also of their few co-adjutors that remained in the ranks of the laity; and they were no reluctant instruments provided to his hand. He found the Laws, the Education, and even the local institutions of his Empire, in many parts, in entire abeyance. The military classes, with the slaves, and retainers of various name, could of course do nothing to organize his vast, growing, and heterogeneous dominion.—The Emperor himself could not, it is said, well write his name. But among Charlemagne's first resolves (786) had been this,—that he would set up Schools for the people in all the West.

Before Charlemagne was crowned as "Emperor of Rome," he had been "King of the Franks" (Germans) thirty-two years. His kingdom was then by far the most powerful of all the (at first) half-dependent monarchies which rose, or tried to rise, on the ruins of so much of Rome in the West. He may be said also to have inherited the friendship of the Roman see; and the mutual relations of the Popes and the Frankish kings, his ancestors, had been strengthened by their common necessities, and by the state of the times, from the days, at least, of Pepin who had been sanctioned by the Pope in dethroning the last of the Merovingian Franks (768). Pepin was a Patrician, and had been the defender and Patron of Rome; and thus his son Charlemagne, also a Patrician, at the request of Pope Hadrian had undertaken, for Rome's sake, the subjugation of the aggressive Lombards. This kind of protectorate implied no less, practically, than Imperial power; for the Emperors of the East, whatever their theory, had utterly allowed the West to drift away from them; meanwhile power had everywhere, as was natural, localized itself. When at length the Byzantine throne was occupied by an Empress (797), Charlemagne, at the head of the great Western monarchy, was apparently willing to marry her, and so naturally occupy the old Imperial position. But this failing, he still was at once accepted as "Emperor of the Roman world,"—having to make such terms with ensuing Byzantine monarchs as the powerful can generally offer to the tolerated, adopting methods

of connivance, such as the nations of both East and West had already been accustomed to.—The Roman, clearly was to grow stronger, and the Byzantine weaker continually.—Even in the East, Charlemagne had privileges conceded to him by the Caliph Haroun al Raschid; who now utterly despised the Greek "Emperor," not only his tributary, but Charlemagne's titular ally. The "coronation" was even superfluous, and submitted to rather than chosen at first; and Charlemagne in accepting it, only did what his Franco-German predecessors had thought they strengthened themselves by doing. But he always knew that the world owned but one Imperial power, and he claimed to be that; and maintained, both before and after the year 800, that Imperial Supremacy which had always carried with it the Ecclesiastical also.

In pausing upon this, we at once note that he dealt, for example, with the Iconoclastic controversy with a high hand, and in the Council of Frankfort which he summoned (794) he condemned the decrees of the Deuteronicene Council (though approved by Pope Hadrian), and had the "Caroline Books" issued, probably with Alcuin's concurrence, to show the heresy of those decrees. (It is even said that the West owes to Charlemagne the *Veni Creator*, and the acceptance of the *Filioque*.) But further:—

Just as, before the fall of the West (476), the Imperial "Constitutions" from time to time were added to the Theodosian laws; so now, in the newly rising nations, the "Capitularies" of kings had been issued as laws to the bishops and other magnates for practical adoption; without at all abrogating the old Imperial Code, where it prevailed. The ancestors of Charlemagne had for ages—(more than two centuries at least)—summoned Synods of Bishops, together with the great men of their people, and with their consent put forth Constitutions and Capitularies on all subjects of Civil and Ecclesiastical interest, which immediately became laws of the realm.

No doubt, to overlook the administration of these laws was often a more difficult matter than to promulge them. The

confusions of the times, so continually deplored, had, in the eighth century, thrown, and even forced, the powers of administration, necessarily, into the hands of local ecclesiastics; with the effect, at length, of further secularizing the clergy themselves, and not by any means spiritualizing their magistracy. It would not be easy to exaggerate the abatement of the Episcopate in the West which had thus ensued, during the times immediately preceding Charlemagne.

Papal decrees and synods, even from the time of Pope Siricius (398), had been allowed to assist in holding things together. The Emperor Phocas in the East (150 years before Charlemagne), regarding the West as still, in theory, part of the Byzantine-Roman Empire, may have hoped to assert himself, and also arrest disorders, by conceding a sort of distant religious exarchate to the Bishop of Rome (in a quasi-Republic, as Rome so often was); but this did not succeed in really ruling the local Episcopacies and people. The generally painful list of Pontiffs from Boniface III. (606) to Honorius (638), on to Leo III. (795), is sufficient to show the moral powerlessness of this State-made primacy; but doubtless it may have seemed to answer awhile an Imperial purpose, in keeping in check the heresies and pretensions of Constantinople (as "New Rome"), some of which the Eastern Emperor had found inconvenient. It left, however, in the West a demoralized Episcopacy in the magistrate's office, without immediate remedy.

In this state of things, and soon after his coronation (802), Charlemagne once more called together the leading ecclesiastics and laity, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and thoroughly revised the laws of the subject nations under his control—(the Ripuarii, the Allemanni, Burgundians, Lombards, and the rest), and required all Ecclesiastical and other Magnates and their dependents, to swear to him as "Cæsar," and as directly Supreme. Alcuin of York, whom the Emperor had met at Parma some twenty years before (781), carrying the *pallium* to the Archbishop of York, from Pope Hadrian, was now the Emperor's adviser. He had become for some time, at his

request, the organizer of the Western Schools of the Empire; Schools which have influenced, since then, the whole intellectual culture of Europe. A Supremacy, like this of Charlemagne's, over the instruction and discipline of Church and State, over the Creed of the nations (*cap.* i. an. 802, c. 41), and over all the Schools of secular learning, could not but put into distinctest prominence the question (practically unraised since the days of the pagan Emperors), as to the independent spiritual claims of the Church in his Empire.

Civilization thus had clearly entered on its new phase. The Emperor at Aachen was acting no doubt under urgent necessity, which all must have seen; but it was by his own surprising energy that he succeeded in securing the wonted homage of the Bishop of Rome, and of the Episcopacy in all his dominions—never really withheld from Christian Emperors; and thus his Empire was founded.

His son, Louis the Pious, followed him (814). It had been probably the policy of Charlemagne to divide the Empire (as Constantine and Theodosius had done) among his posterity; hoping so to retain and enhance that theoretical Unity of the Roman world which all men desired. But the division proved to be as disastrous as in the former cases. After Louis the Pious, Lothair II. (840), Louis II. (855), Charles the Bald (875), and Charles the Fat (888), through their dynastic divisions, brought the Carlovingian Empire to utter destruction in less than a hundred years.—

Meanwhile the Photian schism in the East, and the Eighth General Council (Constantinople, 869), were occupying attention there; but were of course untouched by the Emperors in the again distracted West; and during the then ensuing seventy years (of the feeble and less direct members of the house of Charlemagne), there was, as described by Gibbon, a "kind of Vacancy of the Empire itself."

A new barbarism was threatened even in Italy. Popes, as a rule, however, demanded all along "the protection" of the Western Emperors; and the Emperors, one after the other, as in return, claimed when they could, to be "crowned" by

the Popes; the latent problem of their mutual relations being really unsolved as much as ever. No Emperor, indeed, appeared for a long time after Charlemagne strong enough to rule imperially with a high hand as he did; and there was worse than feebleness all the while on the side of the Ecclesiastical power. For then, if ever, would have been the time to show, if it could be, that a Spiritual hierarchy was, as it had now believed itself, the true government for mankind. But history has no more disappointing story to tell than in the lives of a large portion of the fifty pontiffs (if we may so call them), from Leo III. to John XVIII.—a period of two hundred years.

It must not be supposed, however, that during this prolonged political struggle the nations lapsed into such degradation as in the eighth century. A forward step had been taken. Great names appear, and assure us at once that the Imperial Schools had not existed in vain. Now (as not before) another life was successfully being lived, full of intellectual promise. Our former British missionaries, Colamban in Austrasia, and Boniface in Frankland, and the rest, had been followed, as we have said, by our Alcuin; and then John Scot Erigena became in due succession master of the "Schools of the Palace," which held on in the quiet vale of literature much apart at least from the heights of empire; and they transmitted the light of truth, and earnest thought, to centuries yet to come; a light still destined to penetrate mankind. The "*trivium*" and "*quadrivium*" bore their fruit naturally. The Schools of the diocese, or of the monastery, acquired also a recognised sacredness, which made them henceforth refuges amidst the political confusions.

Here, too, perhaps we may mention, as a practical example of mental growth, the great Predestinarian Controversy long ago bequeathed by Augustine, apart from its philosophy, and now raised by Gotteschalcus. We see it bringing into activity such men as Rabanus, Maurus, Erigena and Hincmar, with their throngs of eager disciples filling Europe, and in themselves sufficient proof that the human mind was moving on,

and that at least the old hopeless chasm of barbaric ignorance was really passed.

The needs of the Roman Episcopate, amidst the struggles of local potentates, obliged, in the tenth century (as of old, in similar cases), an appeal to the Civil Power. The Carlovingians were passed, and Otho was now King of Germany. After the extinction of the old imperial line, the territory of the Roman see and City fell, for half a century, into inextricable disasters. The imperial power itself had there seemed again as if suspended. The city, with its immediate dependencies, was again governed, more than half that time, as a republic, by a so-called "Consul." Octavian, who held that office at sixteen years of age (after Alberic, the Patrician), made himself Pope also, young as he was, under the title of John XII., and he was accepted by the Church. Finding the security of his quasi-rule threatened by Berengar (915), who had succeeded for a short time in being Emperor in Italy, (but was now holding power as vassal of the great German monarch), this John XII. appealed to Otho, who, no doubt, effectually interfered; and was himself, in due course, crowned "Emperor" by the Pope, who had invoked his aid (962).

A succession of infamous, or unworthy, ecclesiastics (not wholly unbroken by better men), who held the popedom, had made all come to feel that the secular Empire, suspended only too long, was a necessity; and Otho the Great was thus hailed as a deliverer—another Charlemagne—"Imperator, Augustus, Pater Patriæ."

The world, also, beyond Italy, began to apprehend once more that the "Holy Roman *Imperium*" was a reality, and that, with it, society had something to rest on. The cause of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy had (not for the first time) been tried, and was clearly lost; and the Empire held its former place.

Otho "the Great" (as he is justly named) confirmed to the Roman prelate, however, the "donations" of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis I., which had been so great a snare to the Ecclesiastics, though so opportune at times, as constituting a

lieutenancy for the too-distant "Emperor;" but Otho specially obliged John XII. to admit the Imperial Supremacy; and soon after, on the same Pope's rebellion, he called a Council of Bishops, requiring them to depose John "for his many crimes," and to elect in his place, and at the imperial bidding, Leo VIII.

Unhappily for Rome, John XII. was not the last who shocked the conscience of mankind, and, finally, made Supreme hierarchical rule impossible in the order of the world. For the Popes, from John VIII. to John XVIII.—ten Popes of that name in the tenth Christian century—were of themselves enough to destroy any cause (without specifying other prelates of the time, such as Benedict VI., Stephen VI., and Sergius III.)

Otho the Great died in 972, only ten years after his coronation. In ten years more Otho II. passed away (983). Otho III. was but a child, the son of Otho II. by the Greek Princess Theophano. At sixteen he took from his mother the reins of government, but he died before attaining ripe manhood. As noble as his grandfather, and more devout, courageous and lofty in his character (notwithstanding the fearful sternness of his outset), possibly Rome might have been raised by him to greatness, more than Justinian's (whose Code he commanded to be restored as the Law of the Empire); but it was not to be.

The Othos were followed in the empire by the Henries—on the whole an heroic set of men, yet none of them equal to the struggle which they inherited, or able to settle the *modus vivendi* of the two Powers. The strength of the Papal cause at the time, as often before, lay in the Monasteries and Schools, which had given it a new Unity. The Imperial defence was in the minor landholders of various States, whose power was increasingly despotic, whether they ruled as an aristocracy, in a lax subjection to the Roman *imperium*, or asserted more independence.

The immediate form which the dispute for Supremacy (so vital to the Empire) always took during the eleventh century

was twofold; first, as to the election of the Emperor by the Pope's consent, or of the Pope by the Emperor's; and next, and in natural sequence, as to the forms of Investiture in the case of all Ecclesiastics.

The election itself, as to the Popes, had been secured to the College of Cardinals by Nicholas II. (1059)—a serious change in the papal position—only fourteen years before the pontificate of Gregory VII. But the Imperial consent was not formally conceded.

The most disastrous, because exasperating, episode of this part of the struggle is the melancholy account of the meeting of Henry IV. at Canossa, with Pope Gregory VII. It seemed, at one moment, that the ignominious penance of this Emperor had finally conceded the Ecclesiastical supremacy in things secular. But no; the penance failed, for it was wrung from Henry IV. by his necessities, viz., by the practical difficulties in which he was involved through the papal excommunication. To be relieved from these, Henry went through an act of hypocrisy, which we can but wonder at, as we read of it. How he could possibly do it (as we should now say), as a "gentleman," and, after attaining his object, break all his plighted faith, and persecute to the end the Pontiff to whom he had vowed his allegiance before all Europe, we cannot comprehend. Or how Gregory VII., with the awful recollections, as well as immediate experience, of the abominable baseness of the Papacy of the preceding generations, could claim for the Pope the plenitude of Divine authority here on earth, must ever remain among the enigmas of the human conscience. The next generation cruelly avenged both the Pontiff who died in exile (1085) and the Emperor who sank (1105), dethroned by his unnatural son and successor, Henry V. But the grounds of the struggle still remained just as before between the Church and the Empire.

And when Henry V. came to be crowned (in 1112) by Pope Pascal II., the stern conflict of centuries arrived only at a poor compromise. Practically passing by the question of the Imperial and Papal Elections, the Concordat of Worms

(1122), as if in irony of both Pope and Emperor, had adopted the discreditable hypothesis that the Church and Empire had, in this long controversy, been disputing about the symbols and forms of Investiture, and not concerning the entire realities of government. Pope Calixtus, who had followed Pascal II. (1118), conceded, however, at that time that no bishop, or even abbot, should be consecrated in future until invested by the Emperor, and swearing allegiance to him—only the Investiture was to be by the "Sceptre," and not by the Staff and Ring. The ninth General Council of the Church was convoked in the following year (1123) to promulgate to Christendom this hollow truce.

The question, who should choose the Pope? was henceforth to be formally untouched, and only had a piecemeal decision in the mingled events of the time. The difficulty as to the choice of the Emperor brought into existence, later on, an Electoral system among the leading potentates of the West, very similar to that of the electoral Papacy, fatally vested in the Cardinals. On the growing theory that all minor states were feofs of the empire—(a theory encouraged by the long disorders of the reign of Henry IV.),—certain kings and dukes became "Prince Electors of the Empire" (1156); and upon this the papal assent to the Imperial election came somewhat as a matter of course. For two hundred years after this the Electoral system grew, till formally settled by the "Golden Bull" (1356).

The brief and troubled interval from the Council of Lateran (1123) to the rise of the great house of the Hohenstaufens—(Conrad III., 1138, whom St. Bernard influenced to take up the Crusades),—conducts us speedily to Frederick the Great; —bringing us to another era, on which we do not at present enter.

II. In the meanwhile our subject obliges us to remember other great events which could not but throw their influence on the difficult controversy as to the organization of Civilization which was to be the inheritance of later times.

The "Crusades" (from 1096) had attraction for both statesmen and churchmen. To the former they had a fascination as promising a recovery of the East to the Empire; to the latter as regaining the "Holy Places" of Christianity from the power of the Mahometans. The Crusades had also the effect of partly diverting attention from the political divisions among the princes and prelates of the West; while yet they accentuated the religious animosities of Greeks and Latins. They had, however, a charm for the greatest minds (like St. Bernard), though they distracted the Empire, and misled the Church from her great work of instruction and Civilization, which, as we may say, was thrown back awhile almost hopelessly. The power and encroachments of the local nobility at the same time became greater, and the reign of Imperial law more disturbed; while the possessors of the land gradually reduced to deeper serfdom the masses of the people who remained on their estates. The Crusades were a great parenthesis in European civilization.

It is not our purpose in these pages to trace other historical outlines of the Roman Empire of the West, only so far as to follow certain chief developments affecting the progress of the Civilization. We pause to mark, that the intellectual advancement of Europe happily was, in a large degree, distinct from many of the political movements; and we must turn our thoughts specially in that direction. Education, notwithstanding the Crusades, we may observe, was still doing its work in Europe; and we must refer to this.

People are in the habit of loosely describing the ages from Charlemagne onwards, as the "dark ages," and writers have too commonly spoken of the *Trivium*, of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, and the *Quadrivium*, of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy, as a somewhat narrow training for the elementary Schools founded in the ninth and tenth centuries. This is exaggeration, and indeed something worse. The times of the Carlovingians and their successors were "light" compared with the 8th century. Perhaps every age is a "dark age" if judged by the amount of knowledge, and power of thought, in the over-

whelming majority of the people; but if Grammar, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, and so on, were to be the subjects universally taught even in our own times (say under the Elementary Code, Act 1870), instead of any complaint of the "darkness," we should hear no small outcry as to our over-educating the people; and if further, there were *free* access to all these subjects secured by the Clergy for all classes, many politicians would childishly think our condition even dangerous. The truth is that people who speak of certain ages as "dark" seem here to need education themselves. They have a sort of superstition, that there had been somehow and somewhere a determined suppression of "light," in the interest of ignorance. The facts are the reverse of this imagination. The irruption of the barbarians of the North and East destroyed, no doubt, the ancient cities of the Empire; and the Saracens at first burnt the Libraries. But the Monasteries of the Church saved all they could of the old literature; while the Clergy deplored the devastation, and long worked on with silent industry in the Schools, seeking, almost single-handed, to preserve and copy the precious manuscripts they could secure.

The eager population were encouraged by their lords to be constantly at war, and even the old desire of learning was lost. From Sidonius Apollinarius (450) to Gregory of Tours 570), from Gregory to Hincmar (846), there had been a time of growing barbaric encroachment, to which, perforce, even Ecclesiastics at length succumbed. Schools both Episcopal and Monastic were, for want of protection, nearly extinct at last, except in our own land, at the time Charlemagne met Alcuin a Parma (and later to Alfred—900). But now, and for above 300 years the imperial schools were to become once more the agency which mainly formed anew the Civilization of Europe. Just as, from Lactantius to Boëthius (520), Christianity had been reviving the Empire, until the crushing barbarian irruptions; so now, on the contrary (780), the revived schools with Charlemagne's protectorate began a work which was never to be so fatally interrupted; and which was all along the life of the Civilization of the West, if regarded as an advancing whole.

At the same time there were other elements,—those of political thought among the nations,—arising out of the Education, which influenced the growing course of Civilization.

That the freedom and justice which should rule among men should be uniform "Law" had been indeed the common conviction which gave strength to the respect for the Roman power, and its Code of just legislation, which pervaded even barbarians as they advanced; and this conviction, as we have been observing, had long made the Empire appear a kind of human necessity. That the Religion, also (which should develope the human conscience), should be true, and therefore one and the same everywhere, was for ages accepted with rigor in Europe as self-evident; and with that mixed feeling the Civil and Ecclesiastical Codes were intermingled. The "One Empire" and the "One Church"—("Eternal Rome" and "Catholic Religion")—seemed thus to be natural constituents of the highest Civilization. These convictions had been shaken to the foundation by the division of the secular, and by the heresies of the ecclesiastical power, as also by the inroads of Mahometanism, after the fall of the West, and onwards to the "Transition of the Empire" (as it was called) in the Carlovingian days. But the convictions still existed, though so deeply shaken; and destined to be further shaken in the 12th century. The separation of the two codes, by the "Decretum" of Gratian required to be taught in all universities of Europe, was in the same direction.

Charlemagne, indeed, had found the old Empire, which was deemed One and sacred, practically dissevered from the nominal head at Constantinople, and (with the assistance of the Bishop of Rome) acted on the belief that the Roman Empire, which had, if it may be so expressed, emigrated to Constantinople in 339, only returned as the same Roman *Imperium* to its true home in the West, when he was monarch. To him there was but one Rome and One true Christianity. He endeavoured always to regard the Greek Emperors as holding outlying posts of the Roman world (very much as the East had, from 476, long

imagined the Ostrogothic, Frankish and Lombardian kings, and exarchs, to be *their* deputies in the West). Had not Charlemagne, however, been great enough to attempt the free and almost compulsory Education of the West, he could not have succeeded in upholding this "Unity," or arresting the barbarism which was destroying it. In another hundred years the ruin must have been fatally consummated, which however was averted.

But there were other causes (including Education itself), which mingled in producing the changes which were to supersede the old ideas at last. The Empire, after Charlemagne's own time, we have seen split up into divisions which tended more and more to independence and disruption. But certainly they aimed no barbarous blow at Education, the great Civilizer, and now the Uniting power. The formation of the new languages of the West, as shown later on, also contributed to the inevitable disintegration of the old and long attempted "Roman Unity," encouraging separation into Nationalities. But all this change rather promoted Education. On the other hand, the "Catholic" idea of Religion, true for all alike (as hitherto interpreted), was the instrument of all Education, and naturally was in collision with secular Nationalism, imperilling Unity on every side.

Thus the old Roman organization was receding, together with the old ideas. Not, indeed, till the beginning of our own century, was the history worked out; so that the shadow of the title of the "Roman Emperor" (as the ideal head of law and civilization) finally passed away. It was then (1806) formally resigned by the Emperor Francis II.; and Europe began to be readjusted by new ideas—and by the French Revolution.

Civilization, in fact, has not since then marked out its own future; but it has shown what it will not be; it will not repeat the past. The position latent in the "States of the Church," *i.e.*, the whole Ecclesiastico-secular claim, as well as in that of the Empire, has finally changed. The "Roman world," whether Secular or Spiritual, Imperial or Pontifical, will

rule the nations no more; though the influence of "Roman Law" will long be felt, and of "Catholic Religion" for ever. The antagonism of the two "Roman" powers, as such, was essentially at an end. As they for 1500 years had lived, so now they practically died together.—(From Pius VII.—Leo XIII. we have Concordats, quasi-Pragmatic Sanctions, and then the Syllabus, the Falke Laws, and now the expulsion of Religious, &c.)

Reverting, however, to the Civilization of the Carlovingian Empire yet once more, we have to emphasize the fact of the ordinary connection through all political changes of its great agent, the Schools, with the Palace, the Cathedral, and the Monastery, whatever were the failures of each. The Schools were, no doubt, intensely secular, but they were Ecclesiastical even more; and this latter characteristic was often, as we have said, their protection. We must not turn away from facts which so deeply interest us.

Christian Monasticism had begun in an age of disorder, war, crime, and social uprooting. It never remained in one stay, but seemed itself, in all its various orders, to be easily corrupted, even when only in its second generation, and always to need speedy reform, new rules, and sometimes re-foundation. Meanwhile, it was always a protest against barbarism, whether by its looking back into the silent past for a model of a better life, or looking on dimly into the desired future, as containing the undeveloped hopes of man. Amidst the divisions of the striving world it held forth a vision of peace. It was as a voice in the wilderness of often decaying Civilization, and had eventually the reverence of even the turbulent. Monasticism soon became actively an Educator, and it was never a dry Expositor of learning.

The monastic orders grew to be educators in *many* ways, not one only. They may be said to have created new Literature as a common right, or they revived the old; or they were Preachers to the masses, like our English Boniface, or pious teachers, like those at Fulda; who put forth the "Biblia Glossata," with the comments of a hundred Fathers (9th century),

after the schools of Alcuin were founded. The monks were also the *thinkers*, who made men feel (what barbarians never felt, and some still do not know among ourselves) that truth is worth pursuing for its own sake. If Alcuin himself were more an organizer than a thinker, the monk Rabanus, who succeeded him in the "School of the Palace," was not so; nor, again, the acute successor of Rabanus, John Scot Erigena —in will a very martyr of free thought. The Schools which produced this Erigena, the author of the necessary "Consistency of Reason and Religion," the defender of moral responsibility against the fatalism of Gotteschalcus, and a bright line of teachers, onwards to that grandest of thinkers, St. Anselm, cannot but be regarded as chief factors in that permanent Civilization, which soldiers and tyrants could not henceforth destroy.

It would be wrong to imagine, indeed, that the advancement of the world cannot again be thrown back by barbarism; for the animal still dominates too much over the moral and intellectual in the human family; and there are schemes fostered, which sober greatly all enthusiasm for our immediate future. But the ultimate prevalence of truth and righteousness is an indestructible faith of the human heart; and an ever-growing "cloud of witnesses" certifies that humanity is waiting for "better things."

But, looking finally at our chief subject, what shall we say of the Civilized position at the close of the era we have been considering? Taking leave of Anselm and the Imperial Schools, and Bernard the "last of the Fathers," who died (1153) just when the "Master of the Sentences" had completed his work (so destined to influence the Schools of the centuries that followed), let us give a summary glance at the practical result thus far reached, by the two disputants in the Roman world claiming the Supreme government of men, the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal, and asking to order the Civilization of the West.

Each of the contending Powers had more than once had the opportunity of showing what it could achieve for Society,

or for the Empire; and we see that not one Emperor attained even a *minimum* of success as a Ruler, unless (to use a common phrase) he "took the law into his own hands," and resolutely used the Ecclesiastical power as his subordinate. From the first Christian Emperor to Charlemagne, as we look back, most of the Emperors were admitted as Supreme, and, had they been resisted, they might probably have been unable to vindicate their real claim; for, with the exception of a few great men (like the Theodosiuses), they were personally unequal to the moral position; but they would actually, no doubt, have been upheld at the time by the imperial code. But, after the question had been practically raised, no Emperors but Charlemagne, and the Othos, and Henry III. had wisdom or vigour enough fully to maintain the *de jure* or even *de facto* Supremacy of the Temporal power. This Imperial feebleness was probably inherent in the Imperial institution; for even when successful, the Secular Supremacy was maintained by might only, and not by demonstrated right. There was, thus far, no intelligent solution of the difficulty. It was simply "submit to *authority*,"—this or that. Human society thus subsisted under a perpetual apology. The conscience of man, socially and morally, could not finally or really surrender itself to the Temporal Authority of the Civil Ruler; and yet the Civil ruler was obliged, if he would have peace, to act publicly as if it could, though he felt the impossibility.

But the Ecclesiastical power, which in the time of Gregory VII., claimed universal submission from all men, made the same practical assumption, of course, as the Empire made, as to the claims of "authority." It assumed that because of the Divine origin of the Ecclesiastical Power, the conscience of man was to surrender to its "authority," in things spiritual and moral,—which include everything; a theory as subversive ultimately of the ground of moral goodness, as Imperialism itself could be.

Then the actual qualifications of the line of Ecclesiastics, who claimed this lofty character as the hierarchs of the world, were even more flagrantly at variance with their asserted

calling than those of the worst and feeblest Emperors. If the Imperial power commonly exhibits its own unfitness, from Charlemagne to Henry V., still more impossible is the power of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy as seen in the light of the facts, down to the poor compromise effected at Worms (1122).

Nearly sixty popes succeeded, one after the other, in these 300 years from Leo III. to Pascal II. There were some great men; but they were very few. Baronius would allow that the greatest was Gregory VII., virtually the guide of several of his predecessors, and the nominator of Victor III., who succeeded him as Pope, to hand on his principles. The subjugation of both the Church and the world to the Papacy was the object of Gregory's life. His theory was clear; but he died in defeat and exile. Not one besides approached him in vigour, though there was spasmodic action here and there. Victor III. may be taken as a fair witness of the condition to which the Roman See had come, just before Gregory's time:—(and no one could refer with pride to other Popes of the age, to 1123). Victor III., in his dialogues, delineates the position, when describing one of his predecessors:—"Benedict IX. (1023), terrified by the outcry "against his crimes, given up to voluptuous pleasures, and more "disposed to live as an epicurean than as a pontiff, adopted the "resolution of selling the pontificate!"—This Benedict IX. was nephew of the preceding Pope, John XIX., who was brother to Benedict VIII. When the Emperor Henry III. came to Rome, he found the three popes there; Benedict IX., at the Lateran; Sylvester III., at the Vatican; and Gregory VI., at St. Maria Maggiore. The Emperor deposed them all, and a fourth was elected as Clement II.!

It is needless to continue the mournful story. Enough has been said to show that the Gregorian Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the world had been tried and found wanting.

In conclusion: We have seen that the project of One Empire, and One Established Faith in combination, was thus far thwarted by the history of the nations. But the battle was by no means fought out. The Empire, however low,

was not yet extinct even in the East. In the West the Roman *Imperium* had to struggle for centuries for its ideal place among the growing nationalities. The Church had to learn, whether it could be at the same time Catholic and National. The mind of the various peoples had to be trained to freedom and law.—Some began to ask, "Is there a *lex gentium* in Religion?"

The Schools of the next 300 years will conduct to the Renaissance; and, after that, 400 more will be needed to disentangle the mingled Imperial Christianity from the rough accidents of all the eighteen centuries, and open the way to the Polity and Christianity of the future.

Further on, we may be able to watch this great problem of the relations of Society and Religion,—onwards from the time of Frederick the Great to the fall of Constantinople; and after that our inquiry might be completed by observing the development of our mixed Civilization from the 15th century to the 19th, bringing the final disruption of Feudalism at the French Revolution.

The harmony of the Social basis of our common Civilization, and the freedom of the Religious conscience of man, will have to be worked out by the law and philosophy of the coming generation, if a chaos of Society and for a time of Religion itself is to be avoided. The watchwords of party will avail nothing in the end, nor will an interregnum of compromise long be possible. Reason and right ought to prevail, and will prevail. Our Christianity will demand no less.

It would be unphilosophical and ignorant to sanction the coarse supposition, that in the opposition of the Empire and the Church, as gradually developed, there was nothing but a struggle for rule. The matter to be decided always was, How shall Religion and Natural Society co-exist? Christianity began its work on the human conscience by penetrating the *Roman* world. The kingdoms within reach of the Roman Empire were absorbed as much as possible; and the Unity asserted for the Empire made it easier for the Church to press its own Unity, in it and with it. When the Roman world

began to break up once more, and divided laws, and divided territories, and lost Latinity, and lost provinces, East and West, asserted permanent changes in Civilization,—with the revival of separate kingdoms and republics,—then the difficulty inherent in the whole Ethical and Religious position became more and more apparent.—"How far the State should fix even the needful morality of a people?"—and,—"Where the function of the individual should begin?"—had henceforth to be worked out under matured conditions.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

By Henry H. Howorth, F.S.A.

In the previous papers which I have had the honour of reading before the Royal Historical Society, I have tried to elucidate the first adventures of the Norse pirates in the west, as related in the contemporary Frank and Irish annals, and have thus laid the foundation for an examination of the earlier story as contained in the Sagas. This is a singularly difficult field of inquiry, and one which has baffled many explorers. I can only hope to throw a few more rays of light into a very dark and perplexed subject. The Sagas are divided by Mr. Laing into two classes, historical (including biographical) and fabulous. Of the former, the most important were the Sagas, included in the works of Saxo Grammaticus, and Snorro the son of Sturle—two works of world-wide repute, and which have been (especially the former) a riddle and puzzle to most inquirers. Before we grapple with the problem before us, we must first dissect these two famous compilations.

The work of Saxo Grammaticus was written by Saxo, called the Grammarian, on account of his learning. He flourished during the reigns of Valdemar the Great, and his son Knut the 6th (1157–1202). He was provost of Roskilde, and secretary to Absalon, archbishop of Lund. The date of his birth and the particular circumstances of his life are uncertain; but he died in 1204, having spent twenty years in the composition of his history of Denmark from the earliest ages to his own. (Scandinavia, ancient and modern, by Crichton and Wheaton, 163, note.) His famous work has had a singular fate. Throughout the middle ages, and before the days of criticism, it was accepted

as perfectly genuine history, and treated as an authority of almost indisputable value; and we find the mediæval historians of Denmark, one after another, copying its list and order of Kings, and condensing or abstracting its narrative without hesitation, nor did its authority cease with the introduction of criticism into the domain of History. Such famous and learned critics of northern antiquities as Torfæus and Suhm followed Saxo's lead as blindly; and constructed their extraordinary chronologies and narratives from his account. Later, the German method of treating history was applied to Saxo, and his authority speedily gave way. It needs but a very cursory glance at his pages to see how purely artificial the whole arrangement, how full of incongruities and contradictions and how impossible the sequence of events are, and if we pass from an internal criticism to an external one, and try and realize the poverty of the authorities Saxo had before him when he sat down to write in the latter part of the twelfth century, we shall not cease to wonder that amidst so much learning and research his narrative should have held its own so long.

When criticism was duly applied to it, a natural consequence followed. The story which had received everybody's assent was pronounced to be utterly worthless, to be a mere concoction of the old grammarian's, to have no value at all save in its later chapters, where it was more or less contemporary, and a profound scepticism replaced a wide-spread credulity, the pendulum swinging to the opposite extreme.

The latter view seems as erroneous as the former one. Saxo's narrative is apparently not a dishonest one, but is transparently artificial and inconsequent. When he sat down to write at the end of the twelfth century, Christianity had conquered Scandinavia, and the Scalds and pagan poets were pretty nearly, if not entirely, extinct there. Of a continuous history of Denmark there seems to have been none available to him, for the so-called Scioldung Saga, of which the Sogubrot is apparently a fragment, was probably not then composed (*vide infra*). There were available only such

works as Paulus Diaconus, Bede, Eginhardt, Dudo de St. Quentin, and Adam of Bremen, all of whom he used; as well as some entries in the contemporary Frankish chronicles, a number of detached songs and poems relating to particular events, chiefly battles, and unconnected by any thread, and such portions of Jornandes, the Anglo-Saxon Sagas, etc., as in the eyes of the Provost of Roskilde might fairly claim to relate to his country. These were his materials, and his only materials. He had no regal lists apparently, for all those which are now extant, except the Langfedgatal, which he seems not to have seen, were palpably constructed after his researches, and compiled from his work. He had no scaffolding upon which to build his narrative. He had to construct one for himself, in the best way he could, and to piece together the various fragments before him, into a continuous patchwork. His was not a critical age, and we are not therefore surprised to find that his handiwork was exceedingly rude. A piece of the history of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon, and another taken from the Edda, are thrust in after narratives evidently relating to the ninth century, when Ireland had been more or less conquered by the Norsemen. Icelanders are introduced in the story a long time before the discovery of Iceland. Christianity is professed by Danish Kings long before it had reached the borders of Denmark. The events belonging to one Harald (Harald Blaatand) are transferred to another Harald who lived two or three centuries earlier, and the joints in the patchwork narrative are filled up by the introduction of plausible links. We can thus dissect more or less closely the method of Saxo's handiwork, and to some extent break up again and disintegrate what he has put together, and perhaps when a really critical edition of his work is forthcoming, a work which is sorely needed, we shall be able to detach from its contents the majority of the separate and substantive stories out of which it has been compounded. How bald his story must have been if he had relied on the purely Danish traditions which survived in Denmark, we may gather from

the contemporary and valuable narrative of Sueno Aggeson to which we shall refer presently. Meanwhile, there are two cardinal facts which force themselves upon our attention in Saxo's story. The first is that his chronology is altogether artificial, and the course of events, as he tells it, is utterly arbitrary; jumping from century to century, either backwards or forwards without any notice; separating events which succeeded one another closely, by long parentheses, involving perhaps centuries of time to compass, and bringing together other events which were as widely separated. The other important fact to remember is that our author was patriotic enough to lay under contribution, not only materials relating to Denmark, but to transfer to Denmark the history of other countries. To appropriate not only the traditions of the Anglo-Saxons, the Lombards and the common Scandinavian heritage of the Edda, but also the particular histories of Sweden and Norway, and that a good deal of what passes for Danish history in his pages is not Danish at all, but Swedish, and relates to the rulers of Upsala, and not to those of Lethra; topographical boundaries being as lightly skipped over by the patriotic old chronicler, whose home materials were so scanty, as chronological ones.

Let us now consider shortly the narrative of Snorro Sturleson. Snorro was born in the year 1178 at Huam, in the modern bailiwick of Dale, in Western Iceland. He belonged to the old royal stock of the north, and his father held the hereditary rank of a godar, *i.e.* of a priest and judge, as belonging to a family descended from one of the twelve godars or companions of Odin. Snorro was well-to-do and learned. He visited Norway more than once, was nominated as cup-bearer by Hakon, King of Norway, and after an adventurous and tempestuous life was murdered in September, 1241. He is best known as the author of the famous "Heimskringla." The word means "the world's circle," being the first prominent word of the manuscript that catches the eye, and which has been used by the northern antiquaries to designate the work itself.

Snorro calls this his *magnum opus* the saga or story of the Kings of Norway, and it extends from the earliest times down to 1178, shortly before his own birth (Laing's "Heimskringla," i. 1 and 2). The copy of the work on which subsequent editions are chiefly based was written in 1230 by Snorro's nephew Sturla (id. 201). Snorro's work, therefore, is nearly contemporary with that of Saxo, having been written only a few years later.

While Saxo lived and wrote where the old traditions of the north had become very largely extinct, and been displaced by Christianity, and had to collect his materials here and there where he could; Snorro lived in the very arcana of Norse traditions and culture, where many scores of old sagas were preserved, where the Scalds still survived as a living element in the community, and where the old traditions had taken shelter when driven out of the Scandinavian peninsula by Christianity. Not only were his surroundings infinitely more favourable, but his materials were also more valuable. There is no reason to doubt that the earlier part of his history, the first saga which relates the history of the Inglings down to the time of "Rognvald Mountain High," was founded upon, and incorporates the famous Inglingatal, composed by Thiodolf-hin-Frode, or the Wise, the Scald of King Harald Fairhair, and that his first saga, therefore, dates as to its matter from the ninth century, and was composed somewhat earlier than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as we now have it. Besides this, Snorro no doubt had before him several of the famous biographical sagas, and especially the works of Are-hin-Frode, who was born in Iceland in 1067, and lived till 1148, and according to some till 1158, and whom he specially quotes as an authority.

The passage in which he enumerates the qualifications of Are-hin-Frode is singularly interesting as showing the means of information commanded by that old historian. He says "he was the son of Thorgils, the son of Gellis, and was the first man in this country (*i.e.* in Iceland) who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new. In

the beginning of his book he wrote principally about the first settlements in Iceland, the laws and government, and next of the lagmen, and how long each had administered the law, and he reckoned the years at first, until the time when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and afterwards reckoned from that to his own times. To this he added many other subjects, such as the lives and times of the Kings of Norway and Denmark, and also of England; beside accounts of great events which have taken place in this country (*i.e.* Iceland) also. His narratives are considered by many men of knowledge to be the most remarkable of all; because he was a man of good understanding, and so old that his birth was as far back as the year after Harald Sigurdson's fall. He wrote, as he himself says, the lives and times of the Kings of Norway, from the report of Odd Kollason, a grandson of Hall of Sidu. Odd again took his information from Thorgeir Afradskoll, who was an intelligent man, and so old that when Earl Hakon the Great was killed he was dwelling at Nidaros (*i.e.* Drontheim). Are went when three years old to live with Hall Thorarinson, with whom he lived fourteen years. Hall was a man of great knowledge and an excellent memory; and he could even remember being baptized, when he was three years old, by the priest Thangbrand, the year before Christianity was established in Iceland. . . . Hall had traded between the two countries, and had been in partnership in trading-concerns with King Olaf the Saint, by which his circumstances had been greatly improved, and he had become well acquainted with the kingdom of Norway. . . . Teit, a son of Bishop Isleif, was fostered in the house of Hall of Haukadal, and afterwards dwelt there himself. He taught Are the priest, and gave him information about many circumstances which Are afterwards wrote down. Are also got many a piece of information from Thurid, a daughter of the Godar, Snorro. She was wise and intelligent, and remembered her father Snorro, who was nearly thirty-five years of age when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and died a year after King Olaf's fall, *i.e.* in 1030. So it is not wonderful

that Are the priest had good information about ancient events, both here and in Iceland, and abroad, being a man anxious for information, intelligent, and of excellent memory, and having besides learnt much from old intelligent persons" (Laing's "Heimskringla." Snorro's preface, 213—215). Of Are's works the Landnama bok, the Islandinga bok, and the Flateyiar Annall, are still extant. But he was not the only author of the eleventh century who wrote history in Iceland. Isleif, already named the first Bishop of Iceland, who died in 1080, is said to have written a history of Harald Fairhair and his successors, down to Magnus the Good, who died about 1047, compiled from ancient sagas, and his son, also a Bishop, is said to have collected and written down histories in the common tongue. Saemund-hin-Frode, who was born in 1056, and was a contemporary of Are, is supposed to have written the "Elder Edda," and to have commenced the Annals known as the "Annales Oddenses." Kolskegg, another contemporary of Are, and Brand, Bishop of Holen in Iceland, who died in 1206, are also known to have compiled sagas. We thus see that when Snorro wrote his master work, he had abundant materials upon which to found it. It was from Iceland also that Saxo himself had to draw his chief information. "Nor is the industry of the Tylenses (*i.e.* the Icelanders), to be passed over in silence," he says, "who, from the sterility of their native soil, being deprived of every luxury of food, exercise a perpetual sobriety, and turn every moment of their lives to the cultivation of a knowledge of the affairs of other countries, and compensating their poverty by their ingenuity, consider it their pleasure to become acquainted with the transactions of other nations, and hold it to be not less honourable to record the virtues of others than to exhibit their own; and whose treasures in the records of historical transactions I have carefully consulted, and have composed no small portion of the present work according to their relations, not despising, as authorities, those whom I know to be so deeply imbued with a knowledge of antiquity." (*Op. cit.* 30—32).

The facts here mentioned leave us no other alternative than to rely on Snorro and the Icelanders in preference to Saxo. The latter in questions of chronology, the order of kings, etc., is absolutely worthless, and his narrative in these respects is purely artificial. When we have broken up his story into its initial fragments we may, no doubt, find some very valuable matter in them to fill up the gaps in our story; for, as Mr. Laing says, "he appears to have had access to many sagas, either in manuscript or in *vivâ voce* relation, which are not now extant" (id. 32). In this way we shall use him, but not attempt the futile and absurd task of reconciling his narrative with that of the Icelanders, or his arbitrary arrangement and dubious and artificial lists of kings with theirs. Having said this, we must guard ourselves against being supposed to hold the notion that the Icelandic narratives are themselves infallible. Not even contemporary annals written year by year are so, much less sagas handed down traditionally, and not written down till long after the events. Even though their narratives be protected by the artificial language in which they are framed, and by the fact that they embody a common tradition of a school of Scalds which can correct any individual errors.

When the sagas were written down in an orderly fashion, as in the "Heimskringla," etc., we have the further difficulty that the glosses and theories of their writers were incorporated with them, and thus the events of some heroes were transferred to others of the name. An example or two from Snorro's own pages will act as a warning in this respect. In speaking of Ivar Vidfame, Snorro says he subdued the whole of Sweden; he brought in subjection to himself all the Danish dominions, a great deal of Saxonland, all the East country, and a fifth part of England. Now, in regard to England, at all events, this is an anachronism. The phrase "the fifth part of England" means Northumbria in the sagas. Northumbria was not conquered nor ruled by a Norse king before the ninth century, and it is clear that the deeds of Ivar, the son of Ragner Lodbrog, who did

conquer Northumbria, have been transferred to his ancestor Ivar Vidfame. Again, Snorro identifies the Turgesius, or Thorgils, who is named in the Irish annals as having captured Dublin in the year 839, and who occupied us somewhat in the last paper, with Thorgils, the son of Harald Fairhair ("Heimskringla," i. 304). This again is a great anachronism; for Harald Fairhair, according to the best calculations, was not born until about the year 851, so that his son could not have taken Dublin in 839. There are several other anachronisms of this kind, which put us on our guard against trusting Snorro too implicitly. I must now say a few words about a fragment of a saga, known as the Sogubrot, which I shall quote largely presently, and which has been given much too high an authority by Geijer and other inquirers. Suhm, the Danish historian, deemed it a fragment of a lost Sciolding saga, in which the history of Denmark was told in a similar fashion to that of Norway in the "Heimskringla." Müller, in his Saga Bibliothek, long ago argued that this saga was written after the days of Saxo, and assigned it to the fourteenth century. In putting it at a late date he is followed by Dahlmann, the famous Danish historian ("Forschungen auf dem gebiete der Geschichte," i. 307). I believe myself it was actually composed by Snorro. It is singular that it contains precisely the same genealogy of Ivar Vidfame as the "Heimskringla;" and what is more curious is that while the latter makes Ivar Vidfame conquer a fifth part of England, thus confusing him with Ivar Beinlaus, the Sogubrot does precisely the same thing, and identifies him and his predecessor, Halfdane of Scania, with Halfdane and Ivar, who succeeded one another in Northumbria. It also makes a pointed reference to King Granmar, whose story is told in the "Heimskringla." It lastly has an almost identical phrase about Sigurd Ring having been succeeded by Ragnar Lodbrog. The first of these statements enclosing a notable anachronism points out the fragment as in fact being far from a contemporary document, and I believe it was written by Snorro himself as a companion to the "Heimskringla."

There is one other document which is looked upon with

especial veneration by Norse antiquaries as the *fons et origo* of their reasoning on the genealogies of the Northern Royal. This is the famous table called the Lanfedgatal. Because it terminates with Harold Fairhair it was treated by Langebek as a work of great antiquity, and it apparently was also so treated and used by Snorro. Yet when we come to examine it closely, we shall find little reason for considering it as of any high authority. It begins the genealogy with Noah and Japhet, showing that it was constructed after Christianity had been introduced into Iceland; it then passes on to Saturn and Jupiter, and then to Memnon and the Trojan war, showing it was also written after the Norsemen not only became Christians, but were also imbued with classical culture. The introduction of the Trojans is probably due, as Dahlmann says, to the author treating Thor as an eponymos; and it is curious that he names him thus: "Tror whom we call Thor." After Thor follow seventeen names, the greater portion of which are taken from the Anglo-Saxon genealogical tables, which is clearly shown when we reach the name of Odin, which is written thus "Voden whom we call Odin" (Dahlmann, *op. cit.* 357—359). All this shows conclusively that the table is not of older date than the tenth century, and more probably of the eleventh.

From these facts it may be gathered that those who lean implicitly on the chief props supplied by the Old Norse literature for the early history and genealogy of the North lean on very unsafe supports. The fact is, we must treat these genealogies and these continuous histories as compilations made up from isolated and detached traditions—epics in which some individual or some battle was described, and in which the links and the connections between the pieces have been supplied according to the ingenuity of the compilers; in which the arrangement and chronology are to a large extent arbitrary; and in which it has been a great temptation to transfer the deeds of one hero to another of the same name.

Under these circumstances what is a modern historian to do? In the first place he must take the contemporary

chronicles—Frank, English, and Irish—as his supreme guides, and not allow their statements to be perverted by the false or delusive testimony of the sagas, and where the two are at issue, sacrifice the latter without scruple, while in those cases where we have no contemporary and independent evidence then to construct as best we can our story from the glimmers of light that have reached us. I propose to take this course in a small corner of our great subject this evening.

I would first postulate two important factors. The Norsemen were an intensely feudal race. Their kings were also their priests, and the royal stock was also a sacred stock, far removed in the popular eyes from the commonalty. Descended from the sacred companions of Odin, claiming kin directly with the Gods themselves, there was in consequence an extraordinary loyalty and devotion towards them. This feeling of caste made it impossible for *novi homines*, those without blood or descent, to rule in the North. Such a thing was there unknown, and, consequently, when we meet with the mention of rulers and leaders in the chronicles, we may be sure they belonged to the royal stock.

Secondly, this royal stock in Scandinavia comprised at least two great branches. The Inglings, who ruled originally at Upsala in Sweden, and the Scioldungs, who similarly ruled at Lethra in Denmark. The theory which I have adopted for explaining the revolutions in the North at the very dawn of history is that there was a continuous feud between these two stocks for supremacy. I shall begin at the point where this feud first seems to have commenced, or perhaps only culminated, namely, with the overthrow of Ingiald the Ill-ruler by Ivar Vidfame, by which feud the family of the Inglings was thrust out of Sweden, and was succeeded there, for awhile at least, by that of the Scioldungs. The history of this event is told in the "Heimskringla," on the authority of Thiodolf, who lived at the court of Harald Fairhair of Norway in the ninth century, and who was therefore a very respectable witness; but I would add that his testimony is corroborated by Sueno Aggeson, the contemporary of Saxo, who in naming Ingild, as he calls Ingiald, says that after his time for many years sons did not

succeed their fathers in the kingdom, but grandsons. This is precisely what took place, since Ingiald was suceeded by his grandson Ivar Vidfame, and Ivar Vidfame by his grandson Harald Hildetand. Sueno also says Ingild was succeeded by Olans, which is in accord with Snorro's statement that Ingiald's son Olaf, the Tree-feller, having fled to Norway, began a new line of sovereigns there, while his grandon Ivar succeeded to the crown of Sweden. It is also supported *pro tanto* by Saxo, for there can be small doubt that his Ingellus is the same person as the Ingiald of Snorro and the Ingild of Sueno. Like Snorro, he makes Ingiald the son of Frotho, and like Snorro, he makes him be succeeded by Olaf, whom he calls his son, while he adds that some old traditions make him his nephew (*Saxo*, by Müller, i. 318). He also speaks of Aasa, whom we shall mention presently, but makes her the sister instead of the daughter of Ingiald. The history of Ingiald's reign, it is no part of my present purpose to describe, and I shall merely deal with the concluding acts of his life as told by Snorro. He says that by his wife, Ingiald had two children, Aasa and Olaf. Ingiald was king over the greater part of Sweden. He married his daughter Aasa to Gudrod, king of Scania. She was like her father in disposition, and brought it about that Gudrod killed his brother Halfdane, father of Ivar Vidfadme; she also brought about the death of her husband Gudrod, and then fled to her father; thence she got the name of Aasa the Evil-adviser.

Ivar Vidfadme came to Scania after the fall of his uncle Gudrod, collected an army in all haste, and moved with it into Sweden. Aasa had before this returned to her father. King Ingiald was at a feast in Raening when he heard that Ivar's army was in the neighbourhood. Ingiald thought he had not strength to go into battle against Ivar, and he saw well that if he betook himself to flight his enemies would swarm around him from all corners. He and Aasa took a resolution which has become celebrated. They drank until all their people were dead drunk, and then put fire to the hall and it was consumed with all who were in it, including themselves, Ingiald and Aasa. Thus says Thiodolf:

"With fiery feet devouring flame
Has hunted down a royal game
At Raening, where King Ingiald gave
To all his men one glowing grave.
On his own hearth the fire he raised—
A deed his foemen even praised—
By his own hand he perished so,
And life for freedom did forego."
—Laing's "Heimskringla," i. 254.

Ivar now seems to have succeeded to the throne of Sweden and Denmark proper, while, as it would appear, Jutland remained under its own reguli. It has often been noted as a remarkable circumstance that Ivar is not named among the kings of Denmark, as given by Saxo, but the fact is that his narrative at this time is so confused it is impossible to make one's way through it. It would seem, however, that he refers to Ivar as *Alver Suetiæ rex* and as *Alver tyrannus* (*op. cit.* i. 352, 355).

Let us, however, go on with our story. Of the details of Ivar's reign, except of its concluding phases, we know nothing. These are described for us in the Sogubrot, and unfortunately that document is mutilated.

The story in the "Sogubrot" begins in a broken sentence in the midst of a description of a curious dramatic scene, in which the Swedish king is seen trying to create discord in Denmark. Jutland was then ruled by two brothers, named Rurik and Helge, or Helgius.

It would seem that Helgius had made his way to the Swedish Court, and had there become a suitor for the hand of Audr, the daughter of Ivar. She viewed him favourably, but Ivar urged that there were many other kings better endowed by nature and art than Helgius; and that it had not been the custom with kings' daughters previously, to accept the first suitor. Audr replied, it was no use arguing, as it was clear he had made up his mind. Having summoned Helgius, Ivar said his daughter had told him there was no king's son whom she deemed worthy of herself, and he enlarged

on her pride, ending up with the deceitful statement that he would prosecute the matter further at a more convenient season. Helgius now returned home. Meanwhile, his brother Rurik was urged to marry by his counsellors, who recommended him also to seek the hand of Ivar's daughter. He told them that it was unlikely he could succeed, where his brother who was so much his superior, had so conspicuously failed. They urged that he clearly could not win unless he made a venture, nor would it be a disgrace to him to fail. He, accordingly, determined to try his fortune, and sent Helgius as his ambassador for the purpose. Helgius set out, and was well received by Ivar, to whom he opened his business, demanding the hand of Audr. The king grew angry, and said that the request was inopportune, and that it was not probable Rurik would succeed with his daughter when she had refused him, who was in every way his superior. Helgius denied this last statement, and contended that his brother's qualities were less known than his own, because he stayed at home, and was not so adventurous, and he asked him to name the matter to his daughter. The next day Ivar accordingly summoned Audr, who indignant at the fickleness of Helgius at once agreed that she would marry Rurik. This answer much surprised her father, who reproached her for her waywardness; but as she insisted, Helgius was sent for, and Ivar craftily told him he could not understand how she, who had refused so great a king as himself, now consented to marry Rurik.

It was arranged that Helgius should escort her. When they had travelled beyond the borders of Sweden, they began to talk about how the matter had been arranged, and disclosed what Ivar had said to each of them.

When they arrived in Seland, Rurik sent a cavalcade out to meet them, and arranged a feast, at which he married Audr. That winter Helgius stayed at home in Seland, and the next year set out, as usual, on a piratical expedition.

By Audr, Rurik had a son, named Harald. His eye-teeth were prominent, and of a yellow colour, whence he was called

Hildetand or War-tooth. He was of great stature, and fair to look upon; and when he was three years old he excelled other boys of ten.

On one occasion when Ivar went with his fleet from Sweden to Reidgothia, he went to Seland, and sent word to Rurik to go and meet him. Rurik told his wife Audr of the invitation he had received. When he went to bed that night he was provided by her with a new couch with new ornaments. This was put in the middle of the room. She asked her husband to take notice of his dreams, and report them to herself the following morning. He reported that in the night a vision appeared to him. There was a fertile plain near a wood; on this plain a stag was standing, when a leopard with a golden-coloured mane came out of the wood, which having been transfixed in the shoulders by the horns of the stag, fell lifeless to the ground. After this a huge dragon swooped down on the spot where the stag was, seized him with his claws and tore him to pieces. Then came out a she bear with a whelp; the dragon wished to seize the whelp, but the mother protected it. He then awoke. Audr said, "This is an extraordinary dream; and when you meet my father, mind he does not circumvent you with his wiles, for it would seem that the animals in your dream were the tutelary genii of kings who are to fight together, and it is to be hoped the stag was not your genius, although it seems very probable."

On the same day a great crowd had assembled together to go and meet King Ivar, and having entered his ship went into the poop and saluted him. When he saw them he did not speak. Thereupon Rurik said he had prepared a feast for him, notwithstanding his enmity towards him. Ivar went on to say that he was enraged because Helgius and Audr had behaved so badly, since it was in the mouths of all men that Harald was in fact the son of Helgius, and that he had gone to make inquiries about the matter. Rurik said he had not heard of it before, and asked Ivar what he should do? Ivar replied that there were but two courses open to him: he must either kill Helgius or surrender his

wife to him. Soon after Ivar set out for Reidgothia. The following autumn, when Helgius returned home, Rurik was very down-spirited. Meanwhile Audr prepared a grand feast at which different games were arranged. Helgius was much touched by his brother's sadness, and proposed they should play together, and it was agreed they should have a struggle. Rurik thereupon put on his armour, his helmet, cuirass, sword and spear, and mounted his horse; the other horsemen carried poles: Helgius also carried a pole. Rurik now ran up to his brother, with his lance under his shield, and he thrust it into him and killed him. Those who were about galloped up and inquired why he had committed this crime. He replied that there were abundant reasons, and especially that his wife had been unfaithful to him. They all denied it, and declared it to be false. Audr herself was satisfied that the whole thing was a design of her father's, and she set off, with a considerable company, with her son Harald.

Ivar presently returned from the south and Rurik rode to meet him. Ivar professed to be outraged by the murder of Helgius, and ordered his men to make ready their arms to avenge him. He planted some bodies of troops in ambush in a wood, who fell on Rurik and his company and killed them all, and thus Ivar possessed himself of the kingdom, those present submitting to him. Audr escaped towards the south, *i.e.* probably towards Reidgothia, and Ivar not being strong enough to pursue her, returned to Sweden. The same winter having collected all the gold and precious objects which had belonged to Rurik, she sent them to the island of Gothland. She followed her treasures there, and thence went eastwards to Gardariki, that is to the Scandinavian kingdom about the Gulf of Finland. At this time Radbard was king there. He received the fugitives very hospitably, and proposed to marry Audr, who, in the hope of receiving assistance to enable her son Harald to recover his own again, agreed to his proposals.

When Ivar heard that Radbard had married his daughter without his consent, he collected a vast army from all his kingdom, both Sweden and Denmark, and set sail east-

wards for Gardariki, and threatened to devastate it with fire and sword. When he neared the recesess of the Carelian gulf (recessus Karialanos, *i.e.* the Gulf of Finland), where King Radbard's dominions commenced, it fell out, we are told, "that one night the king was reposing on the poop of his ship and he dreamt that a huge dragon came out of the sea with its skin shining like burnished gold, and spitting forth a shower of sparks towards the sky, so that the neighbouring shores were lit up with the light. The dragon seemed attended by all the birds which lived in the northern regions. Presently a cloud appeared to rise from the sea in the north, and such a storm of rain and hurricane came on that the neighbouring woods and land were flooded with water, and there was also a violent display of thunder and lightning. Thereupon the dragon just named seemed to rush at the raincloud; but it as well as the birds were speedily hidden by thick clouds. The king heard a great clap of thunder in the south and west, and the ships of the fleet seemed to be converted into sea monsters, and to be gliding into the water. Awaking from his sleep he summoned his foster-parent Hordus (*i.e.* the God Hordr) to interpret the dream, Hordus replied that he was so old that he could not explain dreams. He stood on a rock overlooking the tide, while the king lay sick under the canopy in the poop of the ship, and a conversation began between them. The king urged strongly that he should interpret the dream; but Hordus replied it was unnecessary he should interpret it, for Ivar could himself understand that it meant that shortly the affairs of Denmark and Suecia would receive a new turn, and that he would die. The king bade him join him on the ship and continue his interpretation, but he said he would stay where he was and speak. The king then asked who Halfdane the courageous had been transmigrated into among the Asirs. He is now Balder, he replied, whom the gods regret, and who is most unlike thee. Very well, said the king, and again invited him on to the deck; he again said he preferred to stay where he was. The king continued. Who had Rurik become? He replied Haener the most timid of the Asirs; and

who was Helgius now? Hordus replied that he had been changed into Hermodus, who was endowed with a great mind; and who had Gudrod (*i.e.*, Gudrod, Ivar's uncle, the brother of his father Halfdane) become? Hemidallus, said Hordus, the most stupid of the Asirs. And what shall I be among the Asirs? Thee, said Hordus, I take to be the vilest serpent living, namely, the serpent of Midgard. The king, in a rage, replied "If thou foretellest my coming death, I tell thee that thou shalt not long survive me. Come nearer to the serpent of Midgard, and feel his strength." Thereupon the king threw himself from the poop into the water. Hordus at the same time jumped out from the rock into the sea, and they were seen no more." Surely this is a fierce and wild story; reporting a fitting end to the great pirate chief.

After his death an assembly was summoned on the land, where it was discussed what should be done, and it was decided that Ivar being dead, as his people had no special grievance against King Radbard, that consequently each one should make his way home by the first favourable wind. This was accordingly done. Thereupon Radbard gave his stepson Harald a contingent of troops, which he took away with him to Seland, where he was elected king; thence he passed into Scania, into the kingdom which had belonged to his maternal ancestors, where he was well received and his following was greatly augmented. Thence he went to Suecia and subdued all Swedia and Gothia, which had been ruled by his grandfather Ivar. We are told that a number of petty reguli who had been deprived of their inheritance by Ingiald and Ivar deemed it a fitting opportunity while Harald was so young to recover their own. He was but fifteen years old when he mounted the throne. His counsellors, fearing that on account of his youth he might be undone by some of his enemies, prepared a great incantation or spell, by which he was rendered proof against weapons, and he always afterwards dispensed with body-armour. He fought a great number of successful battles and appointed kings and vicegerents, and levied tribute; *inter alios*, he nominated

Hiormund, the son of Hervard the Ilving, to the throne of Eastern Gothland, which his father Granmar had held before him.

Harald Hildetand was, no doubt, the most prominent figure in Scandinavian history at the close of the heroic period, and he fills a notable space in the very crooked narrative of Saxo. It is a typical instance of the perversity and carelessness of that author that he gives Harald Hildetand two fathers and mothers. In one place he makes him the son of Borkar and Groa, the countess of Alvilda (*op. cit.* 337), while in another place he makes him the son of Haldan and Guritha (*ed.* 361). The former must be discarded as a slip of the pen or mistake, as the sentence in which it occurs is only a parenthetical one, while the latter is part of the narrative, and is found at the beginning of Saxo's account of the reign of Harald Hildetand. We must take it, therefore, that his theory was that Harald was the son of Haldan and Guritha. There seems to be a grain of truth, however, in the former statement. "*Alvildæ comitem Gro nomine*," is his phrase, and it seems to be built up out of some misunderstood phrase, for on turning to the Hervavar saga, we find it stated that Harald Hildetand was the son of Valdar, King of Denmark, and his wife Alvilda. This Alvilda is surely the same person as the Audr of the Sogubrot. The statement of the latter authority as to the parentage of Harald is supported by the Langfedgatal, which calls him the son of Hraerekr Slavngvanbavgi, and also by an old list, known as the Huersu Noregr bygdest, and by the early poem called Hyndluljod cited in Rafn's notes to the Sogubrot. As the latter ends with Harald Hildetand, it was probably composed not much later than his time. It may be added that the Hervavar saga also calls Alfhilda the daughter of Ivar Vidfadme, and makes her husband a King of Denmark as Hraerekr or Rurik was, and I have small hesitation in accepting the genealogy of the Sogubrot as at least tentatively the most probable. Let us now continue our notice of Harald. Although Saxo's notice of him is long, it will be found to contain scarcely anything about him.

It is filled up with parenthetical stories about other people, referring doubtless to other times altogether, while the stories it contains about his exploits in Aquitania, and Britain, and Northumbria, show very clearly, as Müller has pointed out, that he has confused his doings with those of another, and much later Harald, probably Harald Blaatand (*op. cit.* 366, note 3). It is only when we come to the close of his reign that we have a more detailed and valuable story. This is the account of the famous fight at Bravalla, of which we have two recensions, one in Saxo, and the other in the Sogubrot, and which have preserved for us one of the most romantic epical stories in the history of the north. The story was recorded in verse by the famous champion Starkadr, whom Saxo quotes as his authority, and whom he seems closely to follow. Dahlmann has, I think, argued very forcibly that the form and matter of this saga as told by Saxo is more ancient, and preserves more of the local colour of the original than that in the Sogubrot (Forsch, etc., 307, 308).

And yet the story as it stands is very incongruous, and makes it impossible for us to believe that it was written by a contemporary at all. How can we understand Icelanders fighting in a battle a hundred years before Iceland was discovered, and what are we to make of such champions as Orm the Englishman, Brat the Hibernian, etc., among the followers of Harald? It would seem that on such points the story has been somewhat sophisticated, perhaps, as in the Roll of Battle Abbey, names have been added to flatter later heroes; but let us condense what it has to tell us.

It would seem that Harald's mother had by her second husband Radbard, a son Randver, who, we are told, was married to a Norwegian princess, and by her became the father of Sigurd Ring. When he became an old man, Harald gave Sigurd the command of his army, and after he had lived a long time with him he appointed him his deputy or vicegerent over Sweden and West Gothland, with his capital at Upsala, while he himself retained Denmark and East Gothland. As he grew old and feeble, we are told in the Sogubrot,

his followers, who feared the realm might go to pieces in his hands, determined to kill him in his bath. Having heard of their plot he decided upon a more glorious death, and wrote to his nephew Sigurd to challenge him to a mortal fight. According to Saxo, Odin himself appeared in the form of Brune, and having the confidence of both kinsmen, he made them fight, Harald willingly consenting. It was better, he deemed, for him to die in battle than on a sick bed, that he might arrive at Valhalla with an ample retinue.

The two relatives now summoned their forces from all sides, and a long list of the champions on either side is recorded—each man by his name and some descriptive epithet denoting his country or some peculiarity, as Orm the Englishman, Ubbo the Friesian, Dal the Fat, Hythin the Graceful, etc. On Harald's side Brunnius was the standard-bearer. There were champions from many quarters and contingents from many lands—Danes and East Goths, Saxons, Norwegians, and Wends, which last, we are told, used long swords and short shields; there were also Berserkers and Amazons. Harald's armament was so vast that it covered all the Sound from Seland to Scania like a bridge.

On the side of Sigurd were the forces of Sweden and West Gothland and many from Norway. Among his champions was the poet Starkadr; Syvaldus, who furnished a contingent of eleven ships; Thrygir and Torwil, who supplied twelve; and Eric the Helsinger, who brought an enormous "dragon," or war galley; together with many famous Berserkers from Telemarken. Sigurd's fleet, as it passed through Stock Sound, where Stockholm now stands, numbered 2,500 ships. He led his army overland, and marched through the Kolmarker Forest, which divides Suithiod or Sweden proper from East Gothland; and when he had come out of the wood to the Bay of Bra he found his fleet waiting his arrival, and pitched his camp between the forest and the sea (Geijer, 11). King Harald's fleet, sailing with a gentle wind, reached Calmar in even days. There seems to have been a fog, which hid the sky from his men, but they kept close in shore; they were guided

by the Scanians, who marched overland. They were joined *en route* by the contingents from the Slaves and Livonians and by 7,000 Saxons. The battle was fought on land. When the two forces came in view of one another we are told that Sigurd bade his men remain quiet till they received the order to join issue. He told them that Harald was feeble with age, and well-nigh blind; that the Swedes were about to fight for liberty, for their country, and their children; while, on the other side, there were but few Danes, but a great number of Saxons and other effeminate peoples; and he excited them by contrasting the vigour of the Scandinavians with the feeble qualities of Germans and Slaves (Saxo, *op. cit.* 386, 387). Harald, on the other hand, according to the Sogubrot, rode in his chariot into the battle, and sent Brunnius and Huda to inquire how Sigurd had planted his men, and, being told in the wedge-shape-formation (*acium cuneatum*), he asked who had taught him this, for he thought no one knew it but Odin and himself. At length the trumpets sounded, and the two armies joined issue. The narrative bristles with Homeric touches about the deeds of single champions, male and female, but we must not detail them, and will conclude the account in the words of Geijer, who has well condensed this part of the narrative:—"At length," he says, "when victory appears to have declared for the foe, King Harald causes his horses to be urged to their utmost speed, seizes two swords, and cuts desperately among their ranks, till the stroke of a mace hurls him dead from his car. Odin himself, in the form of Brune, was the slayer of Harald. The empty chariot tells Sigurd that the old king has fallen; he therefore orders his men to cease from the fight, and searches for the body of his relative, which is found under a heap of slain. Then he causes a funeral pile to be raised, and commands the Danes to lay upon it the prow of King Harald's ship. Next he devotes to his ghost a horse with splendid trappings, prays to the gods, and utters the wish that Harald Hildetand might ride to Valhalla first among all the troops of the fallen, and prepare for friend and foe a welcome in the hall of Odin.

When the corpse is laid on the pyre, and the flames are kindled, and the chiefs of the war walk round lamenting, King Sigurd calls upon every man to bring gold and all his most costly arms to feed the fire which was consuming so great and honoured a king, and so all the chieftains did" (*op. cit.* 11). Saxo says there fell 12,000 men in Sigurd's army and 30,000 in that of Harald (*op. cit.* i. 390). Thus passed away the old king. The battle is one of the most famous in the world's history, and marks a critical point in the chronology of Scandinavia. My friend M. Kunik, who has devoted much time to its discussion, fixes it at about 775 A.D. Harald Hildetand is generally considered to be the "Haraldus quondam rex" mentioned by Eginhardt in his Annals under the year 812.

With the death of Harald, the saga of the Bravalla fight seems to have naturally ended, and we accordingly find that immediately after, our authorities are again at variance. From this point to the reign of Godfred the narrative of Saxo is singularly crooked, taking us back at a long leap to the legends of the Edda and of the Lombards in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and being apparently quite regardless of chronology or sequence in its narrative of events. The Sogubrot and northern writers are at least consistent with probability. The former authority says that after Harald's death Sigurd Ring was King of Sweden and Denmark, and this is consistent with the Frankish writers, who, as I have shown in a former paper, make Sigfred or Sigurd the King of Denmark, who was reigning at the end of the eighth century, and who is first mentioned in the year 777 (Eginhardt's Annals, Pertz i. 157—159).

Sigurd Ring, according to the Sogubrot, married Alvilda, the daughter of King Alf, who ruled in the district between the rivers Gotha and Glommen in Raumariki, which was called Alfheim, and by her he had an only son, Ragnar Lodbrog. Sigurd Ring apparently succeeded also to his mother's heritage; for we find in the "Heimskringla" a passage in which it is stated that the Swedish King Eric

Eymundson claimed to have as great a kingdom in Viken as Sigurd Ring or his son Ragnar Lodbrog had possessed, and that was Raumariki and Westfold all the way to the island Grenmar, and also Vingulmark, and all that lay south of it (Laing's "Heimskringla," i. 282). It would seem, in fact, that Harald Hildetand left sons; one of them, Eystein, is pointedly referred to in the saga of Ragnar Lodbrog and the Lodbroker Quida as reigning at Upsala. Another one I believe to have been Halfdane, to whom I shall revert presently, and who may perhaps have been the person referred to by Saxo as Olo. The author says that on Harald's death, Scania was separated from Denmark, and was ruled over by Harald's son Olo. Dahlmann understands this to mean that Sigurd Ring put his cousin Olo, or Halfdane, as I would correct it, over Scania. Meanwhile he was doubtless over-king over both Sweden and Denmark during his life.

I ought to add that Saxo distinctly makes the king who fought against Harald, his nephew, but by a sister who had married Ingeld, a son of Alver, King of Sweden (*op. cit.* 363—367). While he makes "Sivardus styled Ring" (the father of Ragnar Lodbrog), whom he confusedly makes another person, a son of a Norwegian leader of the same name by a daughter of King Gotric or Godfred, and tells us he reigned over Scania and Seland. It is far from improbable that Randver, the father of Sigurd, married a daughter of Godfred, and that the latter, as well as Harald, was Sigurd Ring's grandfather.

Of the facts of his reign we unfortunately know scarcely anything. I have elsewhere detailed the notices of him contained in the Frankish chronicles. Among them the most interesting perhaps is the one contained in the "Annales Laurissenses," where we have under the year 782 the enigmatical statement that Charlemagne, in that year holding a convention at Cologne, envoys went to him from Sigfred—"*Missi Sigifridi regis id est Halpdani cum sociis ejus.*" This phrase has given rise to a great controversy, in which my friend M. Kuink has taken a prominent part, and in which

he maintains that Halfdane is here used as a synonym for Sigfred, and that the phrase ought to be translated the envoys of King Sigfred, that is, of Halfdane. In this view I cannot concur. Not only does the phrase *cum sociis ejus* preclude such a conclusion, but Halfdane was, I believe, historically a different person altogether from Sigfred, and, as I have said, I take him to have been a son of Harald Hildetand. The Sogubrot breaks off abruptly in an account of how Sigurd, when an old man, was asked by his relative, the son of Gandalf, to grant him assistance against King Eystein, who then reigned over Westmar or Westfold, and he says that at this time sacrifices were being held in Skiringsal (*i.e.* in Westfold in Norway) for all Viken. Here it breaks off. This Eystein is probably the Eystein, son of Harald Huitbein, King of Westfold, mentioned in the "Heimskringla" (Laing's *ed.* i. 257). King Sigurd or Sigfred is mentioned for the last time in the Frank chronicles as King of Denmark in the year 798 (Eginhardt Annales, Pertz i. 185; Kruse, 32). This does not mean exactly that he died then. I believe that at this time a great revolution took place in the North. The family of the Inglings, which had been so long in security in Westfold, greatly enlarged its power, and, under Gudrod the Magnificent, whom I have elsewhere identified with the Godfred of the Frankish writers, succeeded in appropriating Denmark and Scania. He continued to rule there till 810. This revolution probably took place on Sigurd Ring's death, and Godfred displaced not only Ragnar Lodbrog, but Halfdane, the son of Harald, who became a vagabond on a large scale, and who, as I have shown before, went with a large fleet in 806, and submitted to the Frank Emperor (Poeta Saxo, Pertz i. 263). Godfred was succeeded by his nephew Hemming, who died two years later, *i.e.* in 812, and thereupon a struggle ensued for the throne between Anulo, by whom Sigurd Ring has certainly been understood by Saxo and nearly all other commentators (*annulus*, of course, meaning a ring; *anulo*, however, is conjugated *anulo, anulonis*). He is expressly called "*nepos Herioldi quondam regis*," by which I understand not the nephew but the grand-

son of Harald Hildetand (*nepos* meaning both nephew and grandson). This Anulo fought on the one side, and Sigurd, the nepos Godofridi (where nepos perhaps means nephew), and who would thus be the brother of Hemming, on the other. The story would then read that on the death of Hemming a struggle ensued for the Danish crown between the family of the Inglings, represented by Hemming's brother Sigurd, and the Scioldings, by Halfdane's son Anulo.

Saxo, as might have been expected, in weaving the sagas before him with the narrative in the Frank Chronicle, identifies Sigurd Ring and Anulo; but this seems impossible, for we are expressly told by Eginhardt that the brothers of Anulo were Harald (*i.e.*, Harald Klak) and Reginfred, who were certainly no brothers of Sigurd Ring, and it would seem that Anulo is the corrupt form of some Norse name, which has only a superficial resemblance to annulus. Saxo further applies the epithet kings to both rivals, calling one "Syvardus cognomento Ring," and the other "consobrimus ejus Ring." According to Saxo, whose account is altogether very suspicious, on the death of Hemming the kingdom was divided between Sigurd Ring and Godfred's nephew, the former taking Scania and Seland and the latter Jutland. He goes on to say that the former not being very popular left home, *peregrina bella civilibus præferrendo*, *i.e.* in English, "he preferred the life of a Viking." His rival, taking advantage of his absence, tried to conquer the whole kingdom. The Selanders, however, gathered round Ragnar, Sigurd's son. Sigurd, meanwhile, returned home, and a battle ensued between the rivals (*op. cit.* 439—441), in which Sigurd was killed, and was succeeded by his son Ragnar. Harold and Reginfred, as I have shown in a former paper, were the sons of Halfdane and, according to my theory, grandsons of Harald Hildetand, and, therefore, represented the stock of the Scioldungs, who by their victory now regained supremacy in Denmark. This was only transient, however. On the defeat of their party the sons of Godfred went among the Swedes accompanied by a considerable number of the Danish

grandees, and collected a large force. This means doubtless that the Inglings, as represented by Godfred's family, retained their hold upon Sweden although they lost Denmark. They returned in 813 with a large force and drove out Harald and his brother (Eginhardt Annals, Pertz i. 200; Kruse, 69), and thus united the two kingdoms once more under the Inglings. I have described elsewhere in detail the struggle that now ensued between Godfred's sons and the exile Harald. From the way in which they are always named it would seem that the former had a joint authority, owing doubtless some kind of allegiance to Eric, who appears for the first time by name in 827.

Godfred had at least five sons. The death of one of them, the oldest, is mentioned in Eginhardt's Annals in the year 814; while four others are referred to in 819 by the same author, where he tells us that two of the sons of Godfred were driven out of the kingdom, while two others stayed at home and shared it with Harald (Kruse, 78). In neither instance are any of them mentioned by name. I believe that they divided the empire between them, and that while two of them remained in Denmark two others went to Sweden. The two latter I believe to have been Biorn and Olaf, who occur so conspicuously in the narrative of St. Rembert to be cited presently. This Biorn has been generally identified with the Biorn Hauge, or Biorn of the Hill of the Hervavar saga, and it is very curious that that saga in fact gives him a brother called Eric whom it styles Eric Upsallensis. This theory makes clear why Eric should have been on terms of such close intimacy with the kings of Sweden as is shown by Rembert's narrative, and accounts also for the long-continued peace between the two countries. The Amund of Rembert's narrative I take to have been the son of Biorn, a view supported by Amund's attachment to Christianity. This will appear more clearly later on.

After a silence of some years we again find mention of Sweden in the year 829, and it is a very remarkable notice. We are told that in that year some envoys went from the Swedes to the Emperor Louis, who reported to him that there

were many among them who wished to adopt the Christian faith, and that their king desired that he would send them some priests (Rembert's Life of St. Anskarius, Pertz ii. 696, etc.). We are told that this greatly delighted the Emperor, who set about finding a suitable person to undertake such a mission. He was not long in difficulty; Anskar, whose journey with Harald I described in a former paper and who had now been living some time on the borders of Denmark, eagerly volunteered to go. Another monk of Corbey named Withmar agreed to be his companion. Anskar left a friend behind in charge of his flock on the Danish March. His was a very strange and a very romantic journey, and it would be interesting to know by which route he went. He seems to have set sail direct for the Malar Lake.

He travelled with a number of merchants who apparently had several ships. It was necessary to go thus in convoy because of the pirates who then frequented the Baltic, but even this was poor protection, as our travellers found to their cost. For when but half-way on their journey, they were attacked by the corsairs. The merchants, we are told, defended themselves vigorously, and at first even beat off the enemy, but afterwards they were in turn beaten and lost their ships and all that they had. It is curious to read of these merchant fleets then traversing the Baltic. We are too apt to consider all the Danes and Norsemen of those days as mere pirates, the fact being that piracy was at that date probably only beginning to develop itself, and that it was only in later days when every seaman in the North Sea and Baltic was also a buccaneer. The great trysting-place of the pirates was probably the Isle of Gothland, and it was probably in the narrow channel between it and the main that the travellers were attacked. The missionaries escaped with their lives, but lost the presents which their masters had sent to the Swedish king, and lost also some £40 of their own which had been collected for their needs. Having reached the land, they had a long and wearying journey overland before they reached the royal port called Birka.

The position of this port has been much contested, and it is only in recent years that its site has been placed beyond all question.

Among the many islets which dot the beautiful Malar Gulf, whose rocky bosses covered with many-coloured lichens and draped with birch and pine form one of the most striking pictures in the memory, is an obscure island still called Biorke, *i.e.*, "the Birch Island." Here, a few years ago, a wonderful mine of archæological treasures was discovered in the site of an old city, strewn with burnt wood, the remains of domestic animals, ornaments and arms, and extending over many acres. This is now being explored by the Swedish antiquaries, and it no doubt represents the site of the ancient mart of Birka.

Let us now revert to our story. Having arrived at Birka, Anskar and his companions were courteously welcomed by the king, who was called Biorn. Who was this Biorn? A number of writers have identified him with Biorn Ironside, the son of Ragnar Lodbrog; but this is chronologically and otherwise impossible. Geijer, with whom I agree, identifies him with Biorn Hauge, or Biorn of the Hill, who is mentioned in the Hervavar saga. I further hold him to have been a son of Godfred.

The Icelanders tell us that Brage the aged, one of the most famous of the old Scalds, lived at his court (Geijer, *op. cit.* 35). Having learnt the object of their mission and consulted with his counsellors, he at length gave them permission to stay and preach the Gospel, and also permitted any to become their followers who pleased. Many listened to them gladly, for the Christian captives who lived there had already tried to share their faith with the Norsemen among whom they dwelt. Many of the latter were baptized. Among others Herigar (*i.e.*, Hergeir), the prefect of the place, and one of the king's chief councillors, who shortly afterwards built a church on his own property, the first Christian temple set up on the mainland of Scandinavia. He afterwards became a zealous furtherer of the faith

(Rembert, "Life of St. Anskar," Pertz ii. 696, 697; Kruse, *op. cit.* 110). These events occurred in the year 830. Having stayed in Sweden for a year and a half, Anskar in 832 returned homewards, bearing with him letters for the emperor written in the Swedish king's own hand. Anskar, on his return, was received with a cordial welcome by the emperor, who set about the fixing of some site where a new bishopric might be founded, which should have charge of the evangelization of these northern lands. The land beyond the Elbe had hitherto, it would seem, been outside episcopal jurisdiction. A church had been built there and consecrated by a Gallic bishop named Amalhar in the time of Karl the Great. The district attached to this church had been afterwards assigned to a priest called Heridag, whom the Emperor Karl intended to have consecrated as bishop, but Heridag's death prevented this. Louis, the son of Karl, now determined to enlarge the mere parish, and accordingly with the consent of the bishops, etc., he founded the archiepiscopal see of Hamburgh, and subjected to its jurisdiction all the country north of the Elbe, with the especial duty of evangelizing Scandinavia.

To this See Anskar was now consecrated by Drogo, archbishop of Metz, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, Hetti, of Treves, and Otgar, of Mayence. At the same time Willeric was consecrated bishop of Bremen, which See, with that of Verden, were made subject to him.

As Hamburgh was situated in a dangerous locality from its proximity to the barbarians, and as it was also but small in extent, a certain foundation, called Turholt (now Torout), in Flanders, between Bruges and Ypres, was attached to it, apparently as a kind of endowment (Pertz ii. 698). Anskar having repaired to Rome, received the pall from Pope Gregory, and was nominated Apostolic Legate to the Swedes, Danes, Slaves, and other northern nations. A joint commission was apparently given to Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been a very ardent missionary, and to whom the Emperor assigned the little district of Welanas (now called Munsterdorf), on the Stur, to defray his expenses when he should go to those parts (*id.* 699).

After the consecration of Anskar, it was thought prudent, as Sweden was so far off and so entirely apart, that a special bishop should be consecrated to act as his vicar there. Ebbo accordingly recommended a relation of his (Adam of Bremen calls him his nephew), named Gauzbert, who having been supplied by him and the Emperor with the necessary surroundings (*i.e.* books, vessels, etc., etc.), set out on his journey. The district of Welanas already mentioned was assigned to him as a place of shelter in case of necessity (*id.* 699, 700; Kruse, *op. cit.* 115). It would seem that Gauzbert, at his consecration, took the name of Simeon. He was well received by the King of the Swedes (*i.e.* by Biorn) and his people; and began, with the goodwill of all, to build a church, and publicly to preach the Gospel, and was joined by numbers of converts (Pertz, ii. 700). Meanwhile, Anskar worked ardently in the conversion of his neighbours, and redeemed from slavery numbers of boys who had been captured by the Danes and Slaves, whom he brought up in the service of the Church, retaining some of them by him, and sending others to Turholt, already mentioned, to be brought up.

Rembert then goes on to describe how Hamburgh was attacked by the pirates. This happened when the Marquis of the frontier, Bernhard, was dead, and although the bishop tried to inspire his flock with courage, they were overpowered and obliged to flee; he not even saving his cope (*etiam sine cappa sua vix evasit*). Many of the people were killed, and others fled. The pirates captured the town and plundered the neighbourhood; they burnt the cathedral and monastery, and set fire to the library, which had been presented by the Emperor; and his biographer tells us, that although so much of his life's work was thus destroyed, Saint Anskar made no complaints, nor did he revile his enemies, but humbly confessed that it was God who had given, and God might equally take away.

The date of this burning of Hamburgh is not very clear. Pertz dates it in 837 (*id.* notes); Kruse, as I think with

much greater probability, in 845 (*op. cit.* 169). The bishop and his people were now vagabonds, and wandered about for some time, bearing with them the precious relics of the saints. About the same time, we are told, the Swedes, seized with diabolical frenzy, began to persecute their bishop Gauzbert, and a number of them broke into his house, and slew his nephew, Nithard. They plundered the house, and drove the rest of the inmates into exile. These things were not done at the instance of the King, but by a popular outbreak (*id.* 701; Kruse, 168–9). This King was probably Biorn. After these events there were no priests in Sweden for a space of seven years. Then Anskar, anxious for the Christians there, and especially for his godson Herigar, determined to send a certain anchorite, named Ardgar, to them. He speedily sought out Herigar and the rest, to whom he distributed the consolations of religion. By Herigar's influence the Christians obtained the royal licence to propagate their faith, and he also protected them from insult, notwithstanding the popular feeling. At an out-of-door assembly, the missionary held a controversy with the Swedes, who lauded the virtues of their gods, and boasted of the blessings they had conferred on them. The missionary, in order to confound them, we are told in the ingenuous phrases of Rembert, invoked a miracle. As a storm was impending, he bade them pray to their gods that the rain might not wet them—he also would pray to his God that it should not wet him; and the test of who was the true God was to depend on the issue of the miracle. They accepted the proof, and we are told, sat down in a body, while he sat apart with a boy. The rain was not long in coming, and it deluged them, while not a drop fell on him. On another occasion, says his much-believing biographer, Ardgar having lamed his leg and being prostrate, the Swedes jeered him and advised him to pray to their gods if he wished to be cured. Goaded into reply he appealed to Christ and was restored to health as before, thus confounding his enemies (*id.* 702).

At this time it happened that a certain Swedish

King, named Amund, having been exiled from the kingdom had sought shelter among the Danes. I am pretty sure from the subsequent narrative, that Amund was a comparatively unimportant person. It seems clear that Olaf was at this time King of Sweden, and Amund was only a king in the Norse sense, that is, a district or subordinate king. I believe, as I have read, that he was Olaf's nephew, and the nephew also of Eric of Denmark.

To continue our story. Amund being anxious to return home, began to collect recruits, promising to reward them handsomely when they returned to Birka, since there were many rich merchants and much wealth and treasure there. Eager to plunder so famous a mart, they supplied him with twenty-one ships, besides which he had eleven of his own. With this fleet he duly set sail from Denmark, and arrived at Birka. The king (? Olaf) was not at home, and there was no force at hand competent to resist him. Herigar, the governor of the town, with some merchants and others were alone. When hard pressed they determined to retire to a city near at hand (probably Sigtuna), and began to offer prayers to their Gods for help. Feeling still weak, they sent away to the invaders to ask for peace. This they at length bought by a fine of 100 pounds of silver. The Danes were not satisfied, and determined to sack the town. The citizens in their distress proposed to immolate a victim to propitiate their gods, a view which was sternly opposed by Herigar, who counselled them to abandon their useless deities and to turn to the Christian God. This they accordingly did, and we are told they offered prayers and alms voluntarily and by one consent in an assembly held in the open air.

Meanwhile, according to Rembert, Amund addressed his followers, and informed them that in this place were the shrines of many powerful gods, including the God of the Christians, who was the most powerful of all, and that they had better beware how they incurred his resentment. They determined to decide the matter by an appeal to necromancy. The answer was that they should not molest the place, and that they should

leave what they had captured. They were not to return home empty-handed, however, but were to repair to a distant city, on the borders of the Slaves. They went there and captured the town, and made a great booty, with which they returned safely home again. Amund returned a portion of the silver (to the Swedes ?), and made a treaty with them and lived there for some time as he wished to conciliate them (Pertz ii. 704). From this account, it would seem probable that Amund was a Christian, and probably a friend of Herigar's. The latter did not let his vantage slip, but seems to have used his triumph for the furtherance of the faith. He died an old man, a Christian, and received the last sacrament from Ardgar (Pertz ii. 704; Kruse, 201, 202).

Rembert mentions that among the Swedish converts was a woman called Frideburg or Fretheburg, who resisted all the importunities of her people to sacrifice to idols, etc., and remained a faithful Christian. As she was nearing her term of life, and there was no longer a priest there, Gauzbert being dead; knowing that Christians before they died consoled themselves by taking the viaticum or last communion, and there being no priest who could duly consecrate the elements, she bought, and set apart some wine, and ordered her daughter to give it to her when she was dying, in the hope that this sacrifice might be acceptable in her difficult circumstances. This was three years before the arrival of Ardgar. She lived on, however, and only died after receiving the sacrament duly from him, and ordering her daughter Calla to distribute some of her wealth as alms among the poor, and in case she found but few poor, she recommended her to take the money to Dorestadt, where there were many churches, priests, and poor, and there to distribute her alms. She went there and performed her mother's behests (Pertz, *op. cit.* ii. 704, 705). After the death of Herigar, Ardgar left Sweden, which was again therefore left without spiritual control.

In 846 Pope Sergius issued a commission to Anskar confirming him as apostle of the Wigmodians, Nordalbingians, Danes, Norveni, Suecii, and whatever nations he should

subject to the faith, and granting him the use of the pallium at his see of Hamburgh (Kruse, 176). As I have mentioned, that missionary see on the borders of the heathen was too poor to support itself, and the emperor had accordingly assigned it the revenues of the monastery of Turholt for its support. On the death of Louis the Pious, Turholt fell to the share of his son Charles, while Hamburgh belonged, if to anybody, to Louis the German. Charles accordingly detached the monastery from the see and gave it to one Reginar (Pertz ii. 706). The consequence of this, added to the previous ravage of the Danes, was that the see of Hamburgh was reduced to desolation. About this time the bishopric of Bremen becoming vacant, it was determined at a synod of bishops, held at Mayence in the autumn of 847, to appoint Anskar to the post, and thus unite Bremen and Hamburgh, which was accordingly done. This introduced a new difficulty. Bremen was a suffragan see of Cologne, while Hamburgh had been constituted an independent archbishopric.

The Archbishop of Cologne now claimed Anskar as one of his suffragans, which the latter resented. The matter was discussed at a synod at Worms, attended by the two brothers, Lothaire and Louis, and it was determined to remit the matter to the decision of the Holy See. Louis accordingly appointed Salomon bishop of Constance (*Constantiæ civitatis episcopus*) to go there, and Anskar was represented by a priest named Nordfrid, who is described by Rembert ambiguously as *filium suum* (*i.e.* of Anskar) *fratrem nostrum* (*i.e.* of Rembert). The matter having been duly brought before Pope Nicholas, he issued a bull uniting the two dioceses of Hamburgh and Bremen, and constituting them an archiepiscopal see, independent of that of Cologne, while the diocese of Verden, of which Waldgar was bishop, was detached from them (Pertz ii. 706, 708).

Anskar now resumed his efforts for the conversion of the Danes. We are told he endeavoured to conciliate the good will of Eric, who was now sole king of the country, by presents and otherwise, in order to gain permission to preach

the faith, and seems to have had some interviews with him. Anskar also seems to have exerted himself to create a good feeling between the Danes and Franks, and to have been an intermediary in their negotiations. In consequence Eric became much attached to him, and even initiated him in his State secrets. Anskar now introduced the question of Christianity, and tried to persuade Eric to be baptized. He seems to have had considerable effect on the king, and at last persuaded him to allow a church to be built within his borders. The site was fixed at Schleswig, a port, says Rembert, much frequented by merchants, and there was accordingly founded the first Christian temple within the borders of Denmark. The king also granted permission to any of his subjects who pleased to be baptized. The church was duly dedicated to the Virgin, and a priest appointed to it. Rembert says there were already many Christians there who had been baptized at Hamburgh or Dorestadt, among whom were some of the officials of the town, who accordingly encouraged the movement, and many, both men and women, now followed their example (*id.* 709). It will be remarked that Rembert nowhere says that King Eric himself was baptized, nor that he became a Christian. This fact is mentioned by Adam of Bremen, who was a very late and irregularly inaccurate chronicler of the events of this time, and whose authority as compared with Rembert is *nil.* I cannot doubt that if Eric had really become a Christian, that such a proof of the triumphant campaign of his master would not have been overlooked by his scholar and biographer.

Anskar was now much troubled for the condition of Sweden, where there was no longer any priest, and he persuaded King Eric to assist him in the matter. After a conference with Gauzbert, who had been there before, and had been driven away, and who seems to have dreaded similar treatment, it was determined that the latter should go, and Eric sent a letter with him, commending him to the Swedish King Olaf, a proof, as I take it, that Eric and Olaf,

who were according to my contention nearly related, if not actually brothers, were good friends, and in no sense rivals and enemies. In his letter he referred to him as sent by King Louis, as one anxious to serve the cause of religion, and wishful to spread the Gospel in Sweden. Having set out they reached Birka in about twenty days, where they met the king and a large number of people. Rembert goes on to say that the crowd was much elated about their arrival, for one who claimed to have been sent from the very council of the northern gods, had addressed the crowd in terms like these: "By your zeal for us you have secured our goodwill, and in consequence peace and plenty have flourished in the land. Now you propose to rob us of sacrifices and other offerings, and what we deem even worse, to supplant us by another god. If you wish us to continue propitious to you, continue the old sacrifices, and to pay us the dues as formerly, and do not receive this other god, who denounces us, among you, nor worship him. If needs be that you are anxious for other gods, and that we do not suffice for you, then choose Eric, who was formerly your king, and whom we will unanimously welcome among us to be a god." This Eric it has been argued was Eric of Upsala, who by some is made a brother of Biorn of the Hill, but this is hardly likely. So recent a king would hardly in the north have been suggested as a god. He was rather in all probability some semi-fabulous hero of the Heroic age.

The address just named seems to have greatly excited the mob, who in accordance with it nominated the Eric just named as one of their gods, and thereupon began to offer gifts and sacrifices to him. Bishop Gauzbert now consulted his old friends as to the course he should pursue, and what were the king's sympathies in the matter. They counselled him to withdraw at once, and if he had anything of value about him to present it to the king so as to be permitted to go away alive. Gauzbert refused to comply, and said he was prepared for martyrdom. At length by the advice of his friends he invited the king, who was no doubt the Olaf already

named, to his house, He there offered him hospitality and presents and presented his commission, which had already been named to him by his own friends and by the envoy of Eric of Denmark. The king seemed very gracious, and willing to comply with his wishes; but he added, "There were priests here before who were driven away, not by the royal mandate, but by a popular outbreak. Before I can or dare confirm your mission I must consult the auguries of our gods, and see what the wish of the people is. Attend the next meeting of the assembly (*placitum*) and I will advocate your cause to the people, and if the gods are willing then your wishes shall be carried, if not then the contrary." This, says Rembert, was according to their custom, for among them matters of public moment were decided by the popular will rather than by the royal wish. Gauzbert consented to this and prepared himself by prayer and fasting for the interview (*id.* 711, 712). The king having assembled his grandees discussed the matter with them, and they proceeded to test by lots what the will of the gods was. The lots were cast on the open field, and they fell that it was the will of the gods that the Christian religion should be established there. This news was taken to Gauzbert by one of his friends, and the latter accordingly prepared to attend the general assembly with confidence. The assembly was held at Birka, and the king having caused the decision just mentioned to be announced there was considerable uproar, when there uprose an elderly man who addressed the crowd, saying, "Hear me, king and people. The worship of this God is well known to many of us who have received benefits from Him, for many of us have proved His goodness in perils on the sea. Formerly several of us who have been to Dorestadt have there adopted the faith. Now on account of the many pirates and dangers that infest the way, we hardly ever make our way there." *

The orator bade his audience attend to their own interests,

* This is surely a graphic proof of what I have elsewhere urged, that the Norsemen were originally traders and not buccaneers, and that piracy was an accomplishment they learnt later on.

and in those cases where their gods were not propitious to court the favour of this one who was always willing to help those who asked Him. This speech had its due effect, and it was agreed that priests should settle among them, and that the mysteries of Christianity should be practised without hindrance. The king had this conclusion announced to the bishop, but he still withheld his own consent until another *placitum* or assembly had been held in another part of the country. This was probably for Gothland, as the former one was for Sweden proper. This followed the example, and confirmed the decision of the former assembly. The king now proclaimed the decision of the two meetings, granting the right to build churches and to make converts freely. Gauzbert then commended Erimbert, the nephew of Anskar, to the good graces of the king, and asking for his patronage for him. The king thereupon ordered a hall (*atrium*) to be built for an oratory, and the bishop bought another for him to live in. These were both at Birka. The bishop then once more returned home.

About this time Rembert reports an expedition undertaken by the Swedes against the Cori, whom he describes as a people situated a long way off, and who were clearly the Curones or people of Curland. He says they had formerly been subject to the Swedes, but this was a considerable time before (*jam tunc diu erat*).

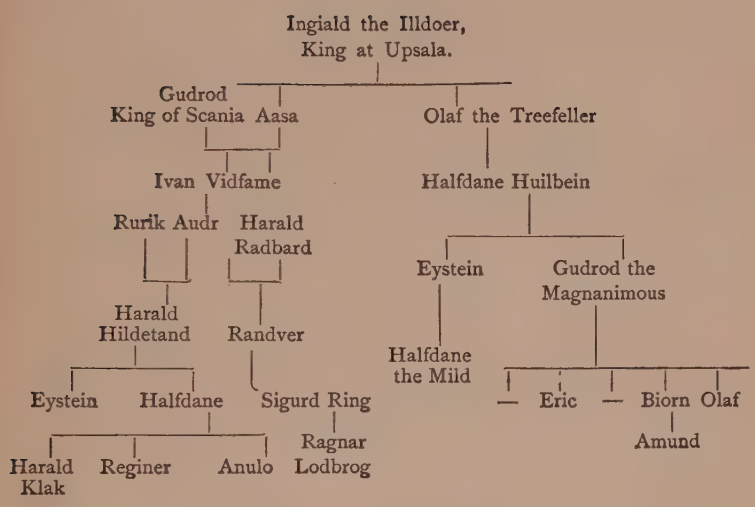
The Danes having learnt this, determined about the time when the bishop (*i.e.* Gauzbert) was among the Swedes to send a large fleet there to plunder and subdue them. The kingdom of the Cori then comprised five different states (*civitates*), whose inhabitants united together to repel the invaders. They were successful. One half of the Danes were killed, and their fleet was plundered of its gold and silver. The expedition in fact seemed to have been a disastrous failure. King Olaf and the Swedes having heard of this, and wishing to acquire fame, and to compass what the Danes had failed in doing, piqued also, inasmuch as the Curlanders were formerly their subjects, collected a very large force and crossed

the Baltic to Curland to a city then called Seeburg, where there were 7,000 warriors collected. This town some have identified with Seleburg in Semgallia at the mouth of the Duna, others with Segeburg in the south of Livonia (Pertz ii. 714, note 60; Kruse, 227, note 1). Kruse also suggests from the fact of the town having so large a garrison that it was the capital of Curland. Other possible sites are Libau, which from its situation on the coast may have been called Seeburg by the Danes, or, perhaps, Pills Callns near Kapsehden (*op. cit.* 227, note 2).

Having captured, sacked, and burnt the town, they went on a five days' journey to another town, called Apulia, which, as Pertz suggests, was, doubtless, Pillen on the river Windav, in Curland. There were assembled 15,000 warriors, who shut themselves up in the town and defended it bravely.

For eight days the siege was prosecuted with great vigour. The Swedes then began to grow weary, and as they were five days' journey from the port where their ships lay, they were much troubled in their minds as to what they should do, they determined to cast lots and see whether their gods meant to assist them, or intended that they should retire. These lots having been cast, it was found that none of the gods were willing to help them; whereupon a terrible wailing arose in the camp. "What miserable creatures are we!" they said; "our gods have forsaken us, and none of them will support us! Whither must we fly? Our ships are a long way off; if we retire to them, those who follow in pursuit will destroy us. Where, then, is our hope?" In this difficulty, some merchants who were with them, and who remembered the teaching of the bishop, spoke out, and said, "The God of the Christians is mighty in assisting those who seek Him. Let us see if He is with us, and if so, let us obey Him." The lots were again cast, and it was found that Christ was in fact with them. This news greatly raised their drooping spirits. With joyful hearts they again closely beleaguered the town, which it appears began to run short of provisions, and some propositions were made by the garrison, that they wished for peace rather than war, and were ready to make a truce with the

Swedes and to surrender some of the booty which they had captured during the previous year from the Danes. They offered a ransom of half-a-pound of silver for each man in the garrison, to renew the homage they formerly did, and to give hostages, and in future to deem themselves subjects of the Swedish king. Some of the more bellicose Swedes were not for accepting these terms, but rather for insisting upon the capture of the town, and upon its plunder; but this was overruled by the king and his more prudent counsellors; and having collected a great ransom, and received thirty hostages, they made their way back to their ships. The delighted Swedes now inquired from the merchants, whose advice they had previously sought, what the God of the Christians would deem a grateful return for the benefits he had conferred on them. It was determined that they should fast for seven days, and then abstain from meat for seven days; and after an interval of forty days should by a general assembly decree a similar abstention of forty days. After this we are told they were very friendly disposed to Christianity, and adopted the Christian mode of fasting, and the fashion of distributing alms to the poor, and in consequence the priest Erimbert, whom I have mentioned, continued to live among them in peace and quiet (Pertz ii. 714, 715). This is a fitting close to the present paper; we have carried down the history of Sweden to the date when the battle took place in Denmark, where Eric was killed, and which was the great turning-point in northern history, and I will in conclusion give a short genealogy of the kings before mentioned, in order to make my story more plain.


Ingiald the Illdoer,
King at Upsala.
Gudrod
King of Scania
Aasa
Olaf the Treefeller
Ivan
Vidfame
Halfdane Huilbein
Rurik
Audr
Harald
Radbard
Eystein
Gudrod the
Magnanimous
Harald
Hildetand
Randver
Halfdane
the Mild
Eystein
Halfdane
Sigurd Ring
—
Eric
—
Biorn
Olaf
Ragnar
Lodbrog
Amund
Harald
Klak
Reginer
Anulo

NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE GERMAN WEIMARIAN ARMY TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By James Heywood, F.R.S.

(*Read to the Royal Historical Society on the* 16*th December*, 1880.)

During the varied events of the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century, a constant struggle for power in central Europe was maintained between the Emperor of Germany, whose seat of government was at Vienna, and the King of France.

Cardinal Richelieu, the prime minister of France during a great part of the reign of Louis XIII., had the sagacity to see that French interests were promoted by aiding the Protestant princes of northern Europe against the Austrian Imperialists.

Wallenstein, the principal general of Austria, advanced northwards as far as the Baltic, and obtained from the German Emperor the title of "General of the Ocean and of the Baltic."

Sweden at that time included several provinces on the eastern side of the Baltic, and when Wallenstein laid siege to the Danish town of Stralsund, the inhabitants of that city solicited the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, against their Imperial enemy. Gustavus sent to them a party of Swedish soldiers, and an ample supply of ammunition. The independence of Stralsund was thus preserved.

Shortly afterwards, a treaty was negotiated at Lübeck, to which Gustavus sent a plenipotentiary; but his pride was wounded, as Wallenstein forbade the entrance of the Swedish ambassador into the congress, on account of the assistance which the king of Sweden had recently afforded to Stralsund.

In 1629 Gustavus Adolphus was engaged in a war with

Sigismund, King of Poland. Richelieu privately sent into Polish Silesia his confidential agent Charnacé, who had interviews with each of the contending sovereigns, and persuaded both the kings of Sweden and Poland to consent to a truce for six years. Charnacé also, in the name of Cardinal Richelieu, negotiated a treaty in January, 1631, with the king of Sweden for five years, by which Gustavus Adolphus agreed to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, and France engaged to furnish £40,000 a year, towards the maintenance of this army. Venice also forwarded a large contribution for the same object. The treaty stipulated that if the arms of Gustavus Adolphus were successful, he was to respect the Catholic religion and the constitution of the German empire in all the conquered places.

Shortly after landing in Pomerania, the gates of Stettin were opened to the King of Sweden, who thus obtained the command of the river Oder, as well as a magazine for his troops.

Gustavus had taken the precaution of providing his soldiers with dresses of sheepskin, which enabled them to keep the field even in the most inclement season.

The Imperialists were driven out of Pomerania with great loss in artillery, baggage, and men.

Gustavus Adolphus appeared with his army before Berlin, and as there was great hesitation on the part of the Elector of Brandenburg about his reception, the King of Sweden sent to him a message, concluding with the words: "My brother, the Elector, must determine at once, to have me as a friend, or to see his capital plundered." The pointing of the Swedish cannon against the city of Berlin put an end to the doubts of George William. The Elector agreed to furnish a monthly subsidy of 30,000 dollars, and a decisive alliance was formed between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Swedes. Uninterrupted success followed the progress of the Swedish monarch. He was the first General of the age. In September, 1631, the battle of Leipzig was fought, ending in a complete victory of the Swedes and Saxons over the Imperialists.

The Saxon division of the army, under Gustavus, was afterwards commanded by Bernard, Duke of Weimar, and in 1632, a few days before the battle of Lutzen, a violent scene took place between Bernard and the King of Sweden, in consequence of which the Duke of Weimar resigned his generalship, declaring that he would not be a servant, but only an ally of Sweden.

Victory declared itself on the side of Sweden at the battle of Lutzen, but Gustavus Adolphus lost his life in the engagement.

In 1633, Bernard, Duke of Weimar, was defeated by the Imperialists in the battle of Nordlingen, and lost 12,000 men, 300 standards, and 80 guns. A treaty was concluded in 1634, at Paris, by which France engaged to maintain 12,000 men, Germans or others, under the command of a German prince.

By a treaty in 1635, the Duke of Weimar promised to command the army, under the authority of the King of France, on condition that he (Duke Bernard) should retain the direction of military operations, with power to resolve and execute, as he should think best for the furtherance of the common cause, with counsel and judgment of His Majesty the King of France and the confederate princes; except in such cases as it should be proposed to march across the Rhine, or into a new country, or to undertake a siege of any importance; on which occasions the Duke promised to inform His Majesty of such intentions, and to receive orders from His Majesty, so that the King of France might arrange his other plans accordingly.

Rheinfelden and several other towns of the Black Forest country were taken by the Duke of Weimar; and, with the aid of the French General Guébriant, after a long and obstinate siege of old Breisach, in the Brisgau, he obtained possession of that important fortress in 1638.

Cardinal Richelieu was a statesman who never lost sight of the aggrandizement of France. He thus described his own public character to a confidant* :—

* Aikin's "General Biography," Art. Richelieu, p. 544.

"I venture upon nothing until I have well considered it, but when I have taken my resolution, I go directly to my object; I overthrow and mow down all that stands in my way, and cover the whole with my red mantle."

After the taking of Breisach, the French government sent instructions to General Guébriant, commander of the forces of the King of France on the Rhine, under the Duke of Weimar, as to the main subject for a negotiation, in consequence of the capture of the fortress of Breisach. M. de Gonzenbach, in the appendix to his Memoir of General D'Erlach, gives these instructions, in which General Guébriant was directed, in the most polite manner, to inquire from Duke Bernard, if, in his opinion, the French, who had contributed to the conquest of Breisach, should have a share in the glory of preserving that fortress.

General Guébriant was not to manifest any want of confidence as to the intentions of Duke Bernard, and he was to explain to the Duke that, in what the King of France desired of Bernard, he merely sought for the good of the common cause.

If the Duke of Weimar should consent to the appointment of a French governor of Breisach, it would be requisite, for more complete security, that two-thirds, or at least one-half of the garrison should be French; the other half should be Germans, under a French governor, and General Guébriant should possess the supreme direction over both the divisions.

These proposals could not possibly be agreeable to the Duke of Weimar, and about that time Colonel Ehm gave a banquet at Pontarslier, to Bernard, who was taken ill at the dinner. In March, 1639, the Duke of Weimar, when he was a little recovering from his malady, wrote a letter to Cardinal Richelieu, which is given in M. de Gonzenbach's work on General D'Erlach. The Duke of Weimar mentioned in his letter that he had sent General D'Erlach to inform the Cardinal on various matters, such as the want of money to preserve the conquest which had been made. No practical benefit arose from General D'Erlach's mission.

The Duke of Weimar died in July, 1639. By his will he left the places he had conquered to his brothers, who declined this inheritance. Next to them the Duke gave precedence to the Crown of France, on condition that the garrisons should be retained, and in the event of a general peace he wished the conquered lands to be restored to the German Empire.

The Duke's army was, according to Bernard's will, to be commanded by General D'Erlach, Colonel Ehm, the Count of Nassau, and Colonel Rosen. These officers were called the Directory, and General d'Erlach held the principal position.

A fresh negotiation began between General Guébriant, with two other Frenchmen, D'Oisonville and Choisy, on the side of France, and General D'Erlach and his friends. D'Erlach was the Governor of Breisach.

On the basis of the French instructions, according to M. de Gonzenbach, Guébriant and his colleagues suggested to the Weimar generals :—

That the Weimarian army should be transferred, in single regiments, to the service of France.

The colonels were to be treated with individually, and to be offered yearly pensions in addition to their usual pay. The governors of fortresses were to be gained over in like manner; the sums offered being in proportion to the importance of the fortresses given up.

The Governor of Breisach was offered £4,000 if he promised to hold the fortress under the authority of France, and either £6,000 or £8,000, if he gave up the fortress altogether to France.

Negotiations were carried on at Breisach, and afterward at Colmar, the head-quarters of the Duke de Longueville ; and subsequently they were renewed at Breisach. Finally, a mutiny in the Weimarian army was apprehended, if the soldiers should be longer kept in a state of uncertainty, and the French ambassadors and the generals of the Weimarian army concluded their arrangement in the following form :—

The King of France was to have free choice in the appoint-

ment of governors for the fortresses of Freiburg in Brisgau and Breisach; and it was further agreed, by a secret treaty, that the same governors, who had been in office under the Duke of Weimar, should remain at Breisach and Freiburg, and that each of them should take the oath of allegiance to hold the fortress over which he presided in the service of the King of France, and to obey the orders of the Lieutenant-General who should command the King's army in Germany.

The Duke of Longueville assisted the French ambassadors in concluding the negotiations. France became the supreme power over the greater part of Alsace, as well as over Breisach and Freiburg, in Brisgau, and in addition, over Rheinfelden and some other Black Forest towns. Guébriant held the office of general in the Weimarian army. In 1642 he gained the victory of Kemper, in the electorate of Cologne, which obtained for him the reward of a marshal's baton. Richelieu died in December, 1642. Cardinal Mazarin was appointed prime minister. Louis XIII. died in 1643.

General Mercy, in 1644, on the side of the Imperialists, commanded the Bavarian army, and marched towards the Rhine. Marshal Turenne, the French commander, ordered General Rosen to attack the Bavarian advanced guard, and the Bavarians were defeated. General Mercy laid siege to Freiburg in Brisgau, and took that fortress. The Duke d'Enghien, French commander, received orders to march towards the Rhine, where he joined Marshal Turenne. The French army numbered 20,000 men: that of Mercy comprised 15,000, occupying a strong position. Between the Brisgau and Wirtemberg there was only one road from Freiburg in Brisgau to Villingen, leading into Wirtemberg, and on that road was the abbey of St. Peter. General Mercy took care to station troops near the road to Villingen, that he might have the power of retreat into Germany.

A council of war on the French side was summoned by the Duke d'Enghien, and, at this conference, General D'Erlach advised a French movement to take possession of the Glotter valley, north-east of Freiburg, so as to stop the Bavarians

from using the road to St. Peter's Abbey and Villingen. Marshal de Guiche supported D'Erlach, but Turenne recommended an attack of the Bavarians, in front, up the steep footpath of the Schwinberg. The Duke d'Enghien (about 24 years old) sided with Marshal Turenne, and the council decided for the attack in front.

The Bavarian camp was strongly fortified. Turenne had to make a long circuit, in a defile, to attack the rear of the camp with the Weimarian army, and it was agreed to wait until four in the afternoon, when the main body of the French army charged up the hill. They were received by a tremendous fire. The Duke d'Enghien got off his horse, and marched first, and his gallant soldiers followed: they forced a passage. The troops of Marshal Turenne, who had gone round, were fatigued with their long march, and could only skirmish at the rear of the Bavarian army.

Heavy rain fell during the night. General Mercy had the skill to withdraw his troops not actually engaged with Turenne, and in the morning his army, with their cannon, were posted on an eminence north-east of Freiburg. The skirmishing with Turenne ceased in the night, and the Bavarian soldiers, who were alive, had moved to the new ground, and a fresh battle commenced. The Duke d'Enghien had the pommel of his saddle carried away by a cannon ball, and a musket ball broke the scabbard of his sword. Others incurred similar dangers. The two armies fought all day, but the French were unable to carry the Bavarian intrenchments. They had to adopt the plan proposed by D'Erlach, and to take the route north-east of Freiburg by the Glotter valley, so as to endeavour to come up with the Bavarian troops retreating on the road to Villingen. Mercy moved his army to St. Peter's valley; his troops were reduced to 6,000 men. General Rosen was ordered, with eight squadrons of Weimarian cavalry, to go in pursuit of the Bavarians. Part of the Weimarian horse-soldiers seized on the baggage of General Mercy, and part of the Weimarians were repulsed by the Bavarian infantry. Mercy's cavalry for some days had

only fed on leaves of trees, and were unequal to engage in a severe fight. The Duke d'Enghien shortly afterwards reached the field of battle, and Mercy did not prolong the contest, but marched on to Villingen; he had shown coolness, prudence, and determination. In his retreat into Wirtemberg, he left his cannon and baggage behind him, being no longer able to take charge of them.

The French burnt the baggage and took the cannon to Breisach. In these engagements near Freiburg, in Brisgau, 15,000 soldiers were killed, of whom 9,000 were Bavarians and 6,000 Weimarians. Nearly the whole of the infantry on both sides perished.

M. Cheruel, in his history of France, during the minority of Louis XIV. (vol. 1. chap. iv.) gives a graphic account of the battles of Freiburg in Brisgau, in August, 1644.

The loss of so many valuable lives accelerated the time when the French and the Imperialists became willing to consent to a general peace.

In 1648 the peace of Westphalia was agreed to, and was signed at Munster. Breisach in Brisgau, and its dependencies, as well as Alsace, were confirmed to France, but by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, Breisach was restored to Germany.

According to Mr. Seguin, in his work on the Black Forest, the fortress of old Breisach was utterly destroyed in 1793, by the French, and at present it is chiefly occupied by a poor Jewish population.

Old Breisach possesses a magnificent church, St. Stephen's Minster, which crowns the rocky height, and from which an extensive panorama is obtained over the Rhine, the hills of Alsace, the Dreisam valley, and the Kaiserstuhl. "The church is being completely restored, and there are some good modern paintings in the choir."

The railroad train from Colmar to Freiburg in Brisgau, stops at Alt-Breisach (Old Breisach) several times every day.

DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS IN THIS COUNTRY, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By GEORGE HARRIS, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

[*Read before the Royal Historical Society.*]

Part V.—From the Commencement of the Sixteenth to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century.

The history of civilization generally, and of the mode of life of our forefathers, embraced by the present paper, is a record rather of progress than of actual change in the condition of this country. No external circumstances operated to affect the latter through invasion by a foreign foe, as was the case during each of the periods of history considered in my former discourses. Civil war between contending parties for the crown of England, had now ceased; but contests not less fierce followed, arising out of differences of opinion in religious matters, which were productive of great moral and social results. To these succeeded angry political contentions, and a long and bloody civil war, which occasioned also extensive changes in the general condition of the nation. Happy it is for us who live in the present age, that, although contests rage as fiercely as ever in the political world, the only weapon used against an adversary is that fiery, unruly, and untameable assailant, termed the tongue. Parties are nowadays, as in the times of which I am about to speak, by turns overthrown; but waste of breath only, instead of waste of blood, is the worst calamity that ensues.

Factions, not bodies, are what in this mild age are deprived of their heads. And politicians who do not please the dominant party, instead of being shut up in prison, are now only shut out from place.

A very humorous and amusing account of the appearance of London, and of the pursuits and mode of life of the people it contained at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is afforded in a ballad called the "London Lickpenny," by John Lydgate, setting forth the adventures of a poor countryman who came to the metropolis to seek legal redress for certain grievances. Perhaps even in our day, the adventures of a simple-minded person, arriving from the country on so hopeless an errand, might not be without either amusement or instruction. In the by-gone times, however, of which I am now speaking, the street thieves were much more daring than at present; for as soon as our adventurer entered Westminster, and long before he came within the dangerous precincts of the lawyers in Westminster Hall, his hood was snatched from his head in the midst of the crowd, and in broad daylight. At Westminster Gate, at the hungry hour of midday, there were bread, ale, wine, ribs of beef, and tables fairly set for such as had wherewith to pay. Proceeding along the Strand, which was at that time merely a public road, studded on each side with the palaces of the nobility, he entered London. Having cleared his way through the press, and arrived at Cheapside, he found a crowd much larger than he had encountered, and shopkeepers plying before their respective shops or booths, who seized him by the hand, that he might turn in and buy. At Cornhill, which at this period was a noted place for receivers of stolen goods, he might see his own lost hood exposed for sale.

The buildings in the towns of this period still continued to retain the form which had before distinguished them. Nothing can be better calculated for giving endurance to a perishable material, than the protection each overhanging story affords to that below it; and this is the origin of the

mode of edifice then adopted, which continued unaltered so long as timber was the principal material used.

An illustration of the style of building in vogue at this period is afforded by the diagrams among the archives of this Society, representing houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as were abundant in London, and all our large towns at the period of which I am now speaking, but very few of which, I regret to say, now remain.

In my former papers I endeavoured to trace the origin and progress of London, until our vast capital became a city of great importance, though far below many ordinary towns of the present day. London went on increasing during the period of which I am now speaking, although repeated proclamations were from time to time published by Queen Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First, in the hopeless expectation of checking the further enlargement of the metropolis.

The Strand is mentioned, in the year 1657, as formerly consisting of mud walls and thatched cottages, but as having then acquired a perfection of building. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields is referred to as a town separate from London. Drury Lane, leading from St. Giles's to the Strand, is described as "of late years, by occasion of the continual road there, and often carriages, become deep, foul, and dangerous to all that pass those ways." But before the beginning of the civil wars, St. Giles's had become completely united to the main body of London. St. Martin's Lane was at this time a quickset hedge, High Holborn and Drury Lane were filled with noblemen's and gentlemen's houses.*

Persons afflicted with the leprosy were not allowed to remain in the city, but were removed to lazar-houses or hospitals provided for them in the suburbs. The one at Holborn was the hospital of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields; the Lock was in Southwark, at the end of Kent Street. A district in the neighbourhood is still called Locks's Fields.†

* See Anderson's "History of Comm." ii. 390.

† Stow's Surrey, pp. 444—500.

The improvements of the dwellings in London do not appear to have kept pace with the increase in its size. The greater part of the houses were still sheds of wood, or of wood and brick, the wretchedness of which was only brought into strong relief by the stately buildings that here and there intervened. The streets were crooked and narrow, and generally overshadowed by a perpetual twilight, from the abutments overhead, that rose, story above story, until they almost closed upon each other; and being unpaved, they were damp and dirty even in dry weather, and in rainy, were almost knee-deep in mud.*

As regards the domestic arrangements of this period, I find the following good and wholesome, though somewhat quaint regulations, laid down for the government of the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury during the sixteenth century:—

"For uttering an oath, a fine of 1*d.* The same for leaving a door open.

"A fine of 2*d.* from Lady-day to Michaelmas, for all who are in bed after six, or out after ten.

"A fine of 1*d.* for any man waiting without a trencher, or who is absent at a meal.

"For any follower visiting the cook, 1*d.*" †

People of rank and fashion lived at this time in the Strand, Drury Lane, and the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, which was as yet only an inclosed field. Merchants resided between Temple Bar and the Exchange. Bullies, broken spendthrifts, and criminals of every shade, collected in Whitefriars. Alsatia, as it was called, possessed the right of sanctuary, and the avenues of it were watched by scouts, who, on the approach of the messengers, sounded a horn, and raised the cry of "an arrest," ‡ to warn the Alsatians for flight or resistance. The chief place of common resort at this

* On this subject, see Moryson, Stow, Lord Somer's "Tracts," and "Pictorial History of England."

† "Shakespeare's England," by Thornbury

‡ Shadwell's "Comedy of the Squire of Alsatia."

period was the middle aisle of St. Paul's, the hours of public concourse there being from eleven to twelve at noon, and after dinner from three to six in the evening. Here, lords, merchants, and men of all professions; the fashionable, the busy, and the idle, were wont to meet and mingle; and he who had no companion, might amuse or edify himself with the numerous placards and intimations suspended from the pillars.*

Disorder of every kind appears to have prevailed in the streets of London at this period; and when night came on, and the decently disposed citizens were housed, and the throngs of links and torches had given place to the solitary twinklings of the watchmen's lanterns, we are told that Alsatia disgorged its refugees, and the taverns their inmates. Stray passengers were insulted, wounded, and often killed; and the roofs of rich citizens were untiled for the purposes of plunder. It was unsafe to walk in the streets of London after nine o'clock.† Indeed, the streets were never lighted after this hour, even in winter, and not at all during the summer months. Every person whose house fronted the street was, however, ordered to "hang out candles or lights in lanterns or otherwise, in some part of his house next the street," every night between Michaelmas and Lady-day, from dark until nine o'clock in the evening, under the penalty of one shilling. Things did, however, a little improve in this respect in course of time; and in the last year of the reign of Charles II. a person obtained a patent, securing to him for a term of years the exclusive privilege of lighting up London. He undertook, for a moderate consideration, to place a light before every tenth door, on moonless nights, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, and from six to twelve of the clock.‡

The continued progress of building in London during the time of which I have been speaking, overflowed the ancient fields and vacant spaces within and around the city, so that

* See Osborne's "Letters to his Son."

† See Lord Somers' "Tracts."—First fourteen years of King James' reign.

‡ Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 356.

tilt-yards, shooting-grounds, and race-courses, were covered with streets and alleys; and thus active civic sports were, of necessity, in a great degree laid aside.

The citizens, however, betook themselves to quiet lounges on Sundays, with their wives and families to the villages in the neighbourhood of London, where they might enjoy cakes and ale, and the fresh breezes of the fields.

While the places set apart for public out-of-doors sports eventually decreased, those for indoors and sedentary amusements multiplied in still greater proportion. Besides the cockpit, the theatre, and the bear-gardens, eating-houses, taverns, tennis-courts, dicing-houses, bowling-greens, and smoking-ordinaries were to be found in every street. Hunting and hawking still, however, continued to be followed; and in shooting the game, the long-bow and cross-bow were used indifferently, as well as the musket, until the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

During the present period, hawking both attained its height and fell into disuse. The amusement was found too expensive for any but the wealthiest, and after the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it was but little followed. Horse-racing, however, appears to have commenced about this time. Dancing, too, was reckoned one of the chief accomplishments of the age. And Henry VIII., notwithstanding his great size, as also Queen Elizabeth, were famous dancers. High leaping and stately movements were considered essentials in fashionable dancing at that time, though both of these feats must have been rather difficult of accomplishment in the case of burly King Harry. Merrymakings and fairs had also their dances; and, we are told, made up in noise and agility for the want of more refined graces. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting were fashionable out-door amusements, and Queen Elizabeth was enthusiastically devoted to these sports. Sometimes the bear was baited, hood-winked, or blindfolded. Apes were also occasionally baited. Bear-gardens abounded in London; and in the public places of the principal towns and villages of England, rings to which the bull was fastened were

not long ago to be seen.* A part of Birmingham still goes by the name of the Bull-ring.

Christmas was accustomed, at this period, to be celebrated with very boisterous mirth, and England rang from one end to the other with festivity and jollity. Christmas carols were trolled in every street; masquerades and plays took possession of houses and churches indifferently; a Lord of Misrule, whose reign lasted from All-Hallow Eve till the day after Pentecost, was elected in every noble household, to preside over the sports. Both the houses and churches were dressed with ivy and holly. The boar's head was a dish peculiar to Christmas, and was placed upon the table in a large silver platter, amidst a flourish of musical instruments.

Plough Monday, which fell on the first Monday after Twelfth-day, was the holiday of the ploughmen, who used to go about from house to house begging for plough-money to drink, while one of the party, called the Bessey, was dressed for the occasion like an old woman; and another, who was the fool of the pageant, was almost covered with skins, and wore the tail of some animal dangling down his back. This custom is still kept up in many parts of the country. What was termed the yule-log consisted of the largest log of wood that could be found, and which was placed on the hearth on Christmas Eve; and if it continued to burn for the whole night and the ensuing day, it was a happy omen for the household; if it burned out or ceased to burn before that time, this was regarded as an unlucky omen.†

Next to Christmas, May-day was considered as the most important festival. On the midnight preceding the first of May, the people of each parish assembled, and after dividing themselves into companies, repaired to the woods, groves, and hills, where they spent the rest of the night in sports and pastimes. When they returned, they brought with them birch-boughs and branches of trees, with which they adorned the places where they meant to hold their festival.

* Stubbs, Strutt. † Brand, Strutt.

"But," says an old writer,* "the chiefest jewels they bring from thence is the May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus: They have twenty or forty yoke of oxen, every ox having a sweet nosegay of flowers tied to the tip of his horns; and these oxen draw home the May-pole, their stinking idol rather, which they covered all over with flowers and herbs, bound round with strings from the top to the bottom; and sometimes it was painted with variable colours, having two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus equipped, it was received with handkerchiefs and flags streaming on the top; they straw the ground round about it; they bind green boughs about it; they set up summer halls, bowers, and harbours hard by it; and then fall they to banqueting and feasting, to leaping and dancing about it, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their idols."

In London, one of the festivities of May-day was to set up the great shaft, or principal May-pole, in Cornhill, before the parish church of St. Andrew; and as the pole was higher than the steeple itself, the church was called St. Andrew Undershaft. A Lord and Lady of May were chosen to preside over the festival, who were richly decorated with scarfs, ribbons, and other finery. Other festivals were also observed, of which we have still some remains in the rural districts.

Among the miscellanous papers of the celebrated philosopher Locke, is the following notice of the sports of England in the year 1679:—

"At Marebone and Putney a curious stranger may see several persons of quality bowling two or three times a week, all the summer; wrestling in Lincoln's Inne-Field every evening, all the summer; bear and bull-baiting, and sometimes prizes, at the Bear Garden; shooting in the long-bow and stob-ball, in Tothill Fields; cudgel playing, in several places in the country; and hurling in Cornwall." †

As regards other amusements which were followed at this time, I may mention that the court of Henry VII., during the earlier part of the period embraced by the present paper, was distinguished for the most splendid tilts, joustings, and tournaments, in which the king himself frequently took a part,

* Stubbs, Strutt. † Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 134.

though the drama had then made but little advance. The entertainments called pageants increased from this period, and usually consisted of a high stage bearing some great figure, as a ship, castle, or mountain, with persons richly or quaintly dressed, who held an allegorical dialogue to welcome the sovereign in his progress through the country. They were retained in England down to the seventeenth century, and often exhibited a great degree of splendour.*

The court of James I. was particularly distinguished for its pageants and masques, which made, as Wilson terms it, "a continual masquerado," in which the queen and her ladies frequently appeared as nymphs or nereids, in various dresses, "to the ravishment of her beholders." In the reign of Charles I. this taste had not waned, and in the year 1633, the four Inns of Court, the Middle and Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, united in exhibiting a masque before the king and queen at Whitehall, the poetry of which was written by Ben Jonson. The scenic decorations were designed by Inigo Jones; Lord Bacon and Mr. Selden settled the dresses and devices; and Whitelocke, afterwards Lord Keeper, had the care of the music. In his Memorials he says, "it was so performed that it excelled any previously heard in England. The dances, figures, properties, voices, instruments, songs, airs, composures, and actions, passed without any failure."

The harshness, want of feeling and of refinement, which characterized our worthy forefathers, even down to the end of the period of which I am now speaking, is remarked by Lord Macaulay, who tells us that at this time, "masters, well born and bred, were in the habit of beating their servants . . . . husbands, of decent standing, were not ashamed to beat their wives."

I have hitherto considered mainly the condition of London during the period embraced in the present paper. I will now, however, proceed to refer to the state of the different provincial towns, and of the country generally. Plymouth is described, in the year 1607, as having grown up in the last

* Thompson's "Illustrations of History of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 314.

age from a small fishing village. Birmingham, called Bremicham, is mentioned as already "swarming with inhabitants, and echoing with the work of anvils." Liverpool is merely noticed under the name of Litherpoole, commonly shortened into Lirpool, as "the most convenient and usual place for setting sail into Ireland."* Pepys, who visited Bristol about the year 1660, noted down as a wonder the circumstance that, in Bristol, a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. It appears that in no other place with which he was acquainted, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields. The late Thomas Hood remarked, however, of London in our day, which will I believe be found on examination to be strictly true, that there was no street in it from which a tree might not be seen in some part. In Bristol, at the period of which I am speaking, a few churches of eminent beauty rose out of a labyrinth of narrow lanes built upon vaults of no great solidity. If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break in the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town almost exclusively in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants exhibited their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer. The pomp of the christenings and burials at Bristol far exceeded what was seen at any other place in England.† Norwich is said at this time to have possessed quite a court in miniature. In the heart of the city stood an old palace of the Dukes of Norfolk, asserted to be the largest town house in the kingdom out of London. In this mansion, to which was annexed a tennis-court, a bowling-green, and a wilderness, stretching along the banks of the Wansum, the noble family of Howard resided, and kept a state resembling that of petty sovereigns.

In the age of which we are now speaking, it was seldom that

* See "Pictorial History of England," vol. iii. pp. 655, 656.

† Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 330, 331.

a country gentleman went up with his family to London. The county town was his metropolis. He sometimes made it his residence during part of the year.* In many of our county towns may yet be seen fine stone-built mansions, which were once the winter houses of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood.

Some of the domestic customs of the period, of which I am now speaking, appear to us somewhat harsh and barbarous. The absolute authority exercised by the head of a house over the members of his family, as also the extensive hospitality which was wont to be lavished on certain domestic occasions, is strikingly exhibited by some documents now before me belonging to the Catesby family, in the time of James I., which are still preserved among the archives of Chastleton House, in Oxfordshire, formerly the property of that family. It is here mentioned that arrangements have been made by the parents, without however, it seems, consulting the immediate parties to the transaction, for the marriage of Mr. Catesby's eldest daughter with the son of a neighbouring squire; and it is provided by the marriage settlement, that in case of the young lady, on the arrangements being announced to her, objecting to the choice made of her future husband, the offer shall be passed on to the second, third, and other daughters in succession, for whom the stipulations as to the settlement of the property shall be made applicable. Provisions are also inserted in the documents relating to the marriage, not only for an entertainment on a very large scale to be given to the neighbouring families, and the tenants on the estate, but as to the precise mode in which the expenses of the feast are to be defrayed, and also as to the parties by whom it is to be borne.

Lord Macaulay has humorously and graphically described the adventures which a country squire who visited London early in the last century, was apt to encounter:—

"When the lord of a Lincolnshire or Shropshire manor, appeared

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. p. 333.

in Fleet Street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lascar. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he stared at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the waterspouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and banterers. Bullies jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendour of the Lord Mayor's Show. Money-droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentlemen that he had ever seen. Painted women, the refuse of Lewkner Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maids of honour. If he asked his way to St. James's, his informants sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. . . . . Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion, and there, in the homage of his tenants, and the conversation of his boon companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations which he had undergone. There he once more felt himself a great man; and he saw nothing above him except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the Lord Lieutenant." *

The gentry of Derbyshire and of the neighbouring counties repaired to Buxton, where they were crowded into low wooden sheds, and regaled with oat-cake, and with a viand which the hosts called mutton, but which the guests strongly suspected to be dog.†

Bath was, at this period, a maze of only four or five hundred houses, crowded within an old wall in the vicinity of the Avon. Pictures of what were considered as the finest of those houses are still extant, and greatly resemble the lowest rag-shops and pot-houses of Ratcliffe Highway. Hedgerows intersected the space which is now covered by the Crescent and the Circus. The poor patients, to whom the waters had been

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 340.

† *Ibid.* pp. 364, 365.

recommended, lay on straw in a place which, to use the language of a contemporary physician, was a covert rather than a lodging. One writer assures us that the gentlemen who visited the springs, slept in rooms hardly as good as the garrets which he lived to see occupied by footmen. The floors of the dining-rooms were uncarpeted, and were coloured brown with a wash made of soot and small beer, in order to hide the dirt.*

As regards the general costume and mode of dress during the period now under consideration, it may be mentioned as a ridiculous instance of the servility with which people of fashion occasionally ape the manners and customs of the Court, that, when the person of King Henry VIII. increased in size, the clothes of his courtiers were often stuffed out to make them resemble him; and this custom extended even to their servants, and is still partly commemorated in the habits of the Yeomen of the Guard.

About the year 1565, the enormous trunk breeches introduced under Henry VIII. began to disappear; but whilst they lasted, they were carried to such an absurd degree of magnitude, that in the Parliament House there were certain holes about two inches square in the walls, having posts in them, supporting a scaffold all round the building, for those Members to sit upon who wore great breeches stuffed with hair, like woolsacks. Swords were, during this period, generally worn, but they were forbidden to be above a certain length.† From what we have already heard of the manners of the times, these weapons must have been found serviceable, not only for ornament but for protection.

An interesting manuscript is among the archives of this Society, being the ledger kept by a maker of Court dresses during the seventeenth century, and which sets forth the costumes prepared for the members of the royal, and for those of various leading families at the time.

The English tables in the sixteenth and following centuries

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 341, 342.

† Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. pp. 316—318.

were in general hospitable and well supplied, but salted provisions still continued to form a very principal article of food between Michaelmas and Whitsuntide; not only pike, sturgeon, and venison were served up at table, but also peacocks, swans, and herons*, the two latter of which must, I suspect, have proved rather tough and coarse-flavoured.

In Locke's Diary, already quoted from, he mentions:—

"The veal and beef are excellent good in London; the mutton better in several counties in England. A venison pasty and a chine of beef are good everywhere, and so are crammed capons and fat chickens. Railes and heath-polts, ruffs and reeves, are excellent meat wherever they can be met with. Puddings of several sorts, and creams of several fashions, both excellent, but they are seldom to be found, at least in their perfection, at common eating houses." †

It is pleasant to find that our excellent philosopher had so proper a regard for creature comforts.

Among the vegetables in use at this period potatoes are spoken of as not uncommon. John Gerarde, an eminent botanist, who was born in 1545, describes them as "a meate for pleasure, being either rosted in the embers, or boiled and eaten with oile, vinegar, and pepper, or dressed some other way by the hand of a skilful cooke." ‡

An Englishman visiting Scotland about the year 1688 made the following note on the habits of the people at this period:—

"Their drink is beer, sometimes so new that it is scarce cold when brought to table. But their gentry are better provided, and give it age, yet think not so well of it as to let it go alone, and therefore add brandy, cherry brandy, or brandy and sugar; and this is the nectar of their country at their feasts and entertainments, and carries with it a mark of great esteem and affection." §

The "esteem and affection" of these good people for whisky does not appear to have been at this period developed.

On the subject of the beverages of various kinds in use in England during this period, Locke says, in his Diary:—

* Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 317.

† Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 134.

‡ Thompson's "Illustrations of Great Britain," vol. ii. p. 180.

§ Chambers's "Domestic History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 494.

"Home-made drinks of England are beer and ale, strong and small; those of most note, that are to be sold, are Lambeth ale, Margaret ale, and Derby ale; Herefordshire cider, perry, meed. There are also several sorts of compounded ales, as cock-ale, wormwood-ale, lemon-ale, scurvy-grass ale, college-ale, &c. These are to be had at 'Hercules' Pillars,' near the Temple; at the 'Trumpet' and other houses in Sheer Lane, Bell Alley; and, as I remember, at the English Tavern, near Charing Cross." *

One writer records of a banquet given by the Earl of Carlisle of that day, to the French Ambassador, at Essex House, that fish of such huge size were served up, which had been brought all the way from Russia,that no dishes in Englandcould hold them, until several were made for the express purpose.†

An inventory, lately in my possession, of the household goods and effects of a country squire, who died in the early part of the reign of Charles I., affords some notion of the style of living and domestic arrangements of the period. Of all the apartments the kitchen appears to have been by far the best stocked; and the value of the utensils there considerably exceeded that of the books in the library. The cellars were amply supplied with beer—"beare," as it is spelt—but I find no account of mad-dog, or dragon's milk, or any of the startling names of the tipple in use at that time. In the men's chamber are "armes for a horsman, two petronells, and two old halberds." A "pudding coffin" is among the articles enumerated in the kitchen utensils.

One of the most interesting topics connected with the domestic life of our forefathers is the mode of travelling adopted by them, when the roads across the country were little better than rude tracks, very uneven, and consequently perilous for vehicles of any description to attempt to pass.

In former papers I alluded to the early mode of travelling in this country, and the contrivances adopted for the purpose, illustrating the subject by diagrams.

* Lord King's "Life of Locke," p. 135.

† See Gascoigne's "Delicate Diets," Edis's "Collection," Decher's "Gull's Farmbook."

For a long time travelling in England continued to be both difficult and dangerous. During the period of our history embraced by the present paper—

"The high-roads in this country (observes Lord Macaulay) appear to have been in a much worse condition at this time than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had even then attained. On the best lines of communication the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way often such as it was hardly possible to distinguish in the dusk from the uninclosed heath and fen which lay on both sides. It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for vehicles with wheels. Often the mud lay deep on the right and the left, and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. It happened, almost every day, that coaches stuck fast until a team of cattle could be procured from some neighbouring farm to tug them out of the slough. On the roads of Derbyshire, travellers were in constant fear for their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts. The great route through Wales to Holyhead was in such a state that, in 1685, a viceroy going to Ireland, was five hours in travelling fourteen miles, from St. Asaph to Conway. Between Conway and Beaumaris he was forced to walk great part of the way, and his lady was carried in a litter; his coach was, with great difficulty and by the help of many hands, brought after him entire. In general, carriages were taken to pieces at Conway, and borne on the shoulders of stout Welsh peasants, to the Menai Straits.*

"On the best highways heavy articles were, in the time of Charles the Second, generally conveyed from place to place by stage waggons. In the straw of these vehicles nestled a crowd of passengers who could not afford to travel by coach or on horseback, and who were prevented by infirmity, or by the weight of their luggage, from going on foot. On by-roads, and generally throughout the country north of York and west of Exeter, goods were carried by long trains of pack-horses.†

"The rich commonly travelled in their own carriages, with at least four horses. People, in the time of Charles the Second, travelled with six horses, because with a smaller number there wa great danger of sticking fast in the mire. Nor were even six horses always sufficient. Vanbrugh, in the succeeding generation, described

* Macaulay's "Hist. of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 366—368. † *Ibid.* 370.

with great humour the way in which a country gentleman, newly chosen a Member of Parliament, went up to London. On that occasion all the exertions of six beasts, two of which had been taken from the plough, could not save the family from being imbedded in a quagmire." *

As regards the origin of the introduction of carriages for travelling, into this country, it is recorded in Howes' "Chronicle," that—

"In the year 1564, Guilliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the Queen's coachman, and was the first that brought the use of coachen into England. After a while, divers great ladies, with as great jealousy of the Queen's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them up and down the countries, to the great admiration of all the beholders; but then, by little and little, they grew usual among the nobility and others of sort, and within twenty years became a great trade of coachmaking." †

"Public carriages had, however, been recently much improved. During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, a diligence ran between London and Oxford in two days. The passengers slept at Beaconsfield. At length (says Lord Macaulay) in the spring of 1669, a great and daring innovation was attempted. It was announced that a vehicle, described as the Flying Coach, would perform the whole journey between sunrise and sunset. This spirited undertaking was solemnly considered and sanctioned by the heads of the university, and appears to have excited the same sort of interest which is excited in our own time by the opening of a new railway. The Vice-Chancellor, by a notice affixed in all public places, prescribed the hour and place of departure. The success of the experiment was complete. At six in the morning the carriage began to move from before the ancient front of All Souls College, and at seven in the evening the adventurous gentlemen who had run the first risk were safely deposited at their inn in London. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, flying carriages ran thrice a week from London to the chief towns. But no stage coach, indeed, no stage waggon appears to have proceeded farther north than York, or farther west than Exeter. The ordinary day's journey of a flying coach was about fifty miles in the summer; but in winter,

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 371.

† Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. i. p. 20.

when the ways were bad and the nights long, little more than thirty. The Chester coach, the York coach, and the Exeter coach generally reached London in four days during the fine season, but at Christmas not till the sixth day. The passengers, six in number, were all seated in the carriage, for accidents were so frequent that it would have been most perilous to mount the roof.*

"This mode of travelling (continues Lord Macaulay), which by Englishmen of the present day would be regarded as insufferably slow, seemed to our ancestors wonderfully and, indeed, alarmingly rapid. In a work published a few months before the death of Charles the Second, the flying coaches are extolled as far superior to any similar vehicles ever known to the world. Their velocity is the subject of special commendation, and is triumphantly contrasted with the sluggish pace of the continental posts." †

A good many clamours, however, appear to have been raised against this dangerous innovation on settled sober habits in the way of travelling, which was denounced as fatal to horsemanship, and injurious to trade, especially to that of innkeepers. It was further objected that these new-fangled—

"Carriages were too hot in summer and too cold in winter; that the passengers were grievously annoyed by invalids and crying children; that the coach sometimes reached the inn so late that it was impossible to get supper, and sometimes started so early that it was impossible to get breakfast. On these grounds, it was gravely recommended that no public carriage should be permitted to have more than four horses, to start oftener than once a week, or to go more than thirty miles a day. It was hoped that, if this regulation were adopted, all except the sick and lame would return to the old mode of travelling. Petitions, embodying such opinions as these, were presented to the king in council from several companies of the city of London, from several provincial towns, and from the justices of several counties." ‡

Nevertheless, Lord Macaulay observes that—

"In spite of the attractions of the flying coaches, it was still usual for

* Macaulay's "Hist. of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 371, 372.
† *Ibid.* pp. 372, 373. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 373.

men who enjoyed health and vigour, and who were not encumbered by much baggage, to perform long journeys on horseback. If the traveller wished to move expeditiously, he rode post. Fresh saddle-horses and guides were to be procured at convenient distances along all the great lines of road." *

A traveller in Scotland in 1688, tells us,

"Stage coaches they have none. . . . . The truth is, the roads will hardly allow them those conveniences, which is the reason that their gentry, men and women, choose rather to use their horses. However, their great men often travel with coach and six, but with so much caution, that besides their other attendance, they have a lusty running footman on each side of the coach, to manage and keep it up in rough places." †

Lord Macaulay observes that—

"Whatever might be the way in which a journey was performed, the travellers, unless they were numerous and well-armed, ran considerable risk of being stopped and plundered. The mounted highwayman, a marauder known to our generation only from books, was to be found on every main road. The waste tracts which lay on the great routes near London were especially haunted by plunderers of this class. Hounslow Heath, on the Great Western Road, and Finchley Common, on the Great Northern Road, were perhaps the most celebrated of these spots. At one time it was announced in the *Gazette* that several persons, who were strongly suspected of being highwaymen, but against whom there was not sufficient evidence, would be paraded at Newgate in riding dresses; their horses would also be shown; and all gentlemen who had been robbed were invited to inspect this singular exhibition." ‡

At this period, indeed, there was still in the North of England a large body of lawless people called moss-troopers, whose calling was to plunder dwellings, and to drive away whole herds of cattle. Laws of great severity were found necessary for the prevention of these outrages. The magistrates of the northern counties were authorized to raise

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 374.

† Chambers's "Domestic Annals of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 392.

‡ Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 374, 375.

bands of armed men for the defence of property and order. The parishes were required to keep bloodhounds for the purpose of hunting the freebooters.

"Many old men (says Lord Macaulay), who were living in the middle of the eighteenth century, could well remember the time when those ferocious dogs were common. Yet, even with such auxiliaries, it was often found impossible to track the robbers to their retreats among the hills and morasses." *

The seats of the gentry, and the larger farmhouses, at this period, were fortified.

"Oxen were penned at night beneath the overhanging battlements of the residence. The inmates slept with arms at their sides. Huge stones and boiling water were in readiness to crush and scald the plunderer who might venture to assail the little garrison. No traveller ventured into that country without making his will. The judges on circuit, with the whole body of barristers, attornies, clerks, and serving-men, rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed and escorted by a strong guard under the command of the sheriffs. It was necessary to carry provisions; for the country was a wilderness which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten." †

So late as the year 1685, only about half the land in England was in cultivation. The rest consisted of moor, forest, and fen—

"Many routes which now pass through a succession of orchards, hay-fields, and bean-fields, then ran through nothing but heath, swamp, and warren. In the drawings of English landscapes, made in that age for the Grand Duke Cosmo, scarce a hedgerow is to be seen, and numerous tracts, now rich with cultivation, appear as bare as Salisbury Plain. From Abingdon to Gloucester, a distance of forty or fifty miles, there was not a single inclosure, and scarcely one inclosure between Biggleswade and Lincoln. At Enfield, hardly out of sight of the smoke of the capital, was a region of five-and-twenty miles in circumference, which contained only three houses,

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, p. 280.

† *Ibid.* p. 281.

and scarcely any inclosed fields. Deer, as free as in an American forest, wandered there by thousands."

The last wild boars in this country, which had been preserved for the royal diversion, were slaughtered during the civil wars. The last wolf in this island was slain in Scotland, a short time before the end of Charles the Second's reign.

"Wild bulls at this time wandered in some of the southern forests, and wild cats were frequently heard by night wailing round the lodges of Whittlebury and Needwood. Fen eagles, measuring more than nine feet between the extremities of the wings, preyed on fish along the coast of Norfolk. On all the downs, from the British Channel to Yorkshire, huge bustards strayed in troops of fifty or sixty, and were often hunted with greyhounds. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered during some months of every year by immense clouds of cranes." *

As the rude farmers of these days were not sufficiently skilful to be able, without great difficulty, to keep their cattle alive during the winter, they killed and salted them—

"in great numbers at the beginning of the cold weather; and during several months, even the gentry tasted scarce any fresh animal food except game and river fish, which were consequently much more important articles in housekeeping than at present. It appears from the 'Northumberland Household Book,' that, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fresh meat was never eaten even by the gentlemen attendant on a great earl, except during the short interval between Midsummer and Michaelmas. But in the course of two centuries an improvement had taken place; and under Charles the Second, it was not till the beginning of November that families laid in their stock of salt provisions, then called Martinmas beef." †

The first establishment of a regular post in this country for the conveyance of letters, appears to have taken place in the year 1635. Up to this time, it was observed in a proclamation on the subject, that there had been no certain intercourse between England and Scotland; wherefore, His Majesty commanded his postmaster of England for foreign parts to

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 306—308.

† *Ibid.* pp. 309, 310.

settle a running post or two, to run night and day between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as should be directed to any post town in or near that road. Bye-posts were at the same time ordered to be connected with several places on the main line. In the reign of Charles the Second, however, a penny post was set up which delivered letters and parcels six or eight times a day in London; but it was strenuously denounced, the placards announcing it were pulled down, and a cry was raised that it was a Popish contrivance. In the end, however, it was found so useful that all opposition to it was overcome, and the post office was eventually established on a regular system.*

Lord Macaulay observes that—

"No part of the load which the old mails carried out was more important than the news-letters. In 1685, nothing like the London daily papers of our time existed. The *London Gazette* came out only on Mondays and Thursdays. The contents generally were a royal proclamation, ... a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cock-fight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog. The whole made up two pages of moderate size. Whatever was communicated respecting matters of the highest moment, was communicated in the most meagre and formal style. To the capital, the coffee-houses supplied in some measure the place of a journal. Thither the Londoners flocked, as the Athenians of old flocked to the market-place to hear whether there was any news. But people who lived at a distance from the great theatre of political contention, could be kept regularly informed of what was passing there only by means of news-letters. To prepare such letters became a calling in London, as it now is among the natives of India. The news-writer rambled from coffee-room to coffee-room collecting reports, squeezed himself into the Sessions House at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial—nay, perhaps obtained admission to the gallery of Whitehall, and noticed how the King and the Duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 280, 281.

some country town, or some bench of rustic magistrates. That was a memorable day (observes Lord Macaulay) on which the first news-letter from London was laid on the table of the only coffee-room in Cambridge. At the seat of a man of fortune, in the country, the news-letter was impatiently expected. Within a week after it had arrived, it had been thumbed by twenty families. It furnished the neighbouring squires with matter for talk over their 'October.' Many of these curious journals might, doubtless, still be detected by a diligent search in the archives of old families. It is scarcely necessary to say that there were then no provincial newspapers. Indeed, except in the capital and at the two Universities, there was scarcely a printer in the kingdom. The only press in England north of Trent, appears to have been at York." *

The mention of travelling, and of coffee-houses also, reminds me to say something about the inns of those days. Lord Macaulay states that—

"From a very early period the inns of England had been renowned. Our first great poet had described the excellent accommodation which they afforded to the pilgrims of the fourteenth century. Nine-and-twenty persons, with their horses, found room in the wide chambers and stables of the Tabard, in Southwark. The food was of the best, and the wines such as drew the company on to drink largely. Two hundred years later, under the reign of Elizabeth, William Harrison gave a lively description of the plenty and comfort of the great hostelries. The Continent of Europe, he said, could show nothing like them. There were some in which two or three hundred people, with their horses, could without difficulty be lodged and fed. The bedding, the tapestry—above all, the abundance of clean and fine linen—was matter of wonder. Valuable plate was often set on the tables. Nay, there were signs which had cost thirty or forty pounds. In the seventeenth century, England abounded with excellent inns of every rank. The traveller sometimes, in a small village, lighted on a public-house, such as Walton has described, where the brick floor was swept clean, where the walls were stuck round with ballads where the sheets smelt of lavender, and where a blazing fire, a cup of good ale, and a dish of trout fresh from the neighbouring brook, were to be procured at small charge. At the larger houses of entertainment

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 383—385.

were to be found beds hung with silk, choice cookery, and claret equal to the best which was drunk in London. The innkeepers, too, it was said, were not like other innkeepers. On the Continent, the landlord was the tyrant of those who crossed the threshold; in England he was a servant. Never was an Englishman more at home than when he took his ease in his inn. Even men of fortune, who might in their own mansions have enjoyed every luxury, were often in the habit of passing their evenings in the parlour of some neighbouring house of public entertainment. They seem to have thought that comfort and freedom could in no other place be enjoyed in equal perfection. This feeling continued, during many generations, to be a national peculiarity. The liberty and jollity of inns long furnished matter to our novelists and dramatists. Johnson declared that a tavern chair was the throne of human felicity; and Shenstone gently complained that no private roof, however friendly, gave the wanderer so warm a welcome as that which was to be found at an inn." *

In a former paper I alluded to the mode of dealing with criminals in this country during the fifteenth century, and exhibited some diagrams illustrative of this part of my subject, which are now deposited among the archives of this Society. Crime appears to have gone on increasing with the increase of the population, and the number of offenders increased also. Hanging was the usual mode of punishment of criminals for serious offences. On this subject and the prevalence of crime in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and the mode of dealing with criminals, I shall have much to say, quoting from authentic historical sources on this head, in my next paper.

Closely connected with the subject now under consideration is that of the application of torture to criminals, which was long practised both in this country and on the Continent. I am proud, however, as a lawyer, to be able to state that the infliction of this punishment in England was always contrary to law; though as a lawyer I am ashamed to confess that the

* Macaulay's "History of England," vol. i. c. 3, pp. 377, 378.

judges, who declared its illegality, frequently sanctioned its infliction. It was resorted to both for extorting confessions from prisoners, and discoveries from witnesses. It is supposed to have been first used in England about the year 1468, and that a Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Coke, was one of the first who suffered from it. In 1628 the judges unanimously resolved that Felton, who had murdered the Duke of Buckingham, "ought not to be tortured by the rack, for no such punishment is known or allowed by our law." * And yet several of the judges who joined in this resolution, had themselves executed the warrants for torture when they held ministerial offices under the crown. The famous Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, declared, "there is no law to warrant tortures in this land, and there is no opinion in our books, or judicial record for the maintenance of them." † But Coke many times acted as a commissioner for interrogating prisoners by torture. There is no doubt, indeed, that, from the time of its introduction until the Commonwealth, torture was frequently resorted to. Indeed, honest John Selden, who lived in times when torture was in use, says that the rack was nowhere used as in England, for here they take a man and rack him, not for any legal purpose, but merely because somebody bids them do it.‡ The last instance on record occurred in 1640, when one Archer, a glover, who was supposed to have been concerned in the riotous attack upon Archbishop Laud's palace, at Lambeth, was "racked in the Tower to make him confess his companions." A copy of the warrant under the Privy Seal, authorizing the torture in this case, may be seen at the State Paper Office. The rack was said to have been brought into the Tower by the Duke of Exeter, in the reign of Henry VI., and was thence called the Duke of Exeter's daughter.* In Scotland, the use of torture was not abolished until the year 1708.

Torture was in general use all over the Continent, and a species of torture was employed in Germany to a very great

* Rushworth's "Collections," vol. i. p. 638.

† 3 "Inst." 35. ‡ "Table Talk."—Trial. * 3 "Inst." 36.

extent during the Middle Ages, of which there are traces and traditions connected with the torture chambers and instruments still exhibited in Nuremberg, Salzburg, and Ratisbon, each of which I have seen, and representations of several of which I have deposited among the archives of this Society. The torture chamber at Salzburg, of the interior of which the diagram will afford a notion, is a small square chamber with one window, in a tower of the castle, formerly the archiepiscopal palace of that city. Two perpendicular racks are seen still standing in it, to which victims were attached, and a beam passes through one of them, by which the unhappy victim was raised, while the large stone with a ring attached to it was tied to his feet. There is also a ring in the wall, to which persons confined there were chained. An iron grating may be observed which covers the opening to the *oubliette*, or deep well, down which the mangled victims were at last thrown, at the bottom of which was a wheel armed with blades, by which they were cut to pieces, and they were then left to die there, being out of hearing of all who could relieve them. Torture, however, was not resorted to in chambers of this kind for legal or judicial purposes, but for the proceedings of those secret religious tribunals which abounded at that period.

Torture of the ordinary kind, for legal and judicial purposes, continued in several countries on the Continent until the middle of the last century. In France, it was abolished only in 1789; in Russia, not until 1801; in Bavaria, torture formed part of the laws until about fifty years ago.

A representation of a rack of the ordinary kind, termed the horizontal rack, copied from that in the dungeon at Ratisbon, in Bavaria, is among the archives of this Society. It somewhat resembles a mangle. The person to be punished was stretched upon it and bound. Cords were then attached to his extremities, and a windlass was gradually turned, till the operation dislocated the joints of the wrists and ankles. The spiked roller in the middle, termed the "larded Sara," caused additional agony by moving round as the victim was drawn over it, and tearing the skin off.

Certain other instruments of torture are also represented by the diagrams. The wooden triangle, or "bad Bess," in which a person was suspended, with the stone having the ring attached tied to his feet: the spiked chair, termed the "confessional," or "maiden's lap," in which he was made to sit with heavy weights on his knees; and the wooden collar and handcuffs, which were fastened round his neck and wrists.

Another species of punishment, which was very nearly allied to torture, and the infliction of which was sanctioned by our laws, was what was termed the "*peine fort et dure*," and which was exercised on criminals who refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. The culprit was stripped and laid on his back, and his limbs were secured by cords, and stretched out to staples in the floor: he was laid in a low chamber with little air or light, then a weight of iron, or a board with weights upon it, as much as he could bear, was placed upon him, and he was fed upon black bread, and water from the nearest puddle, until he either pleaded or died. This custom continued until the year 1772, when it was finally abolished. A great many persons have suffered death in this mode. The object of refusing to plead was that thereby the prisoner escaped trial, and so no forfeiture of his goods and chattels could take place, which were, therefore, saved to his family. It is from this circumstance that the "press yard," in Newgate, and several other prisons, takes its name.*

The execution of malefactors was, during the present period of our history, a matter of very common occurrence. Besides common criminals, who weekly and almost daily were exhibited on the gibbet, there were the heads of traitors over the City gates, and sometimes the bodies of heretics burning in the flames. Independently, too, of the rope and the axe, there were the cleaver, the branding-iron, and the scourge, all kept in restless activity for the punishment of minor offenders. One strange refinement in capital punishment was used at Halifax, where criminals were beheaded by

* "Horrors of the Gallows." By the late Chaplain of Newgate.

an instrument called the "Maiden," which was similar to the French guillotine. Executions were performed there on the market days; and when the condemned person had placed his head on the block, those who stood by put their hands to the rope and drew out the pin by which the axe fell, thereby signifying their consent to the carrying out of the sentence by becoming its executioners. A custom still more singular was followed, where the person to be put to death had incurred this fate by stealing an animal. In this case, the rope was fixed to the animal in question, so that it was made to cause the death of the criminal whenever it moved from its position.*

Throughout the Middle Ages, and down to the commencement of the eighteenth century, a belief in witchcraft and witches, and persecutions of persons suspected of crimes of this nature were generally prevalent. In two of the diagrams, now belonging to this Society, which are copied from drawings of the time preserved in the British Museum, you have a representation of a sorceress in her cave during the fifteenth century, exercising her enchantments. The outline of the form of a spirit is dimly seen through the flames from the torch which she holds in her hand. The altar, with the sacred vessels upon it, is observed in the foreground, and the magic jar in the centre of the picture. The other compartment represents the baptism of a child. In our early liturgies exorcism, or casting out the evil spirits, always preceded the rite of baptism.

Burning witches and placing others in the pillory is represented in the other diagram, which is of the same period. The youthful appearance of some of the witches will excite surprise; but children as well as old women occasionally suffered for this crime.

A belief in witches, after the accession of James I. became the master superstition of the age in this country. James had indeed embarked in a personal quarrel with the whole race

* Hollinshed's "Chronicles."

of witches. During his matrimonial voyage to Denmark, he chanced to encounter a violent storm. This was not a very unusual, or by any means an unnatural occurrence. An impression, however, was created in the royal mind, by what means history fails to record, that the storm in question had been raised by witches in consequence of their baptizing a cat; and so from that period he lost no opportunity of denouncing witchcraft, and persecuting witches. Professed witch-finders came into fashion, and numerous innocent victims suffered in consequence of the superstition of the king.

Although the consideration of politics, and the record of political events, are by design excluded from these discourses on the pursuits and mode of life of our forefathers, yet, at the conclusion of the present period of our history, I may not do amiss in pointing out that it was mainly through the mighty political convulsions by which this country was for a time distracted and tortured during the era we have now passed through—when the billows of popular turbulence and disaffection burst their accustomed bounds, and for a time spread desolation far and wide over the land, until they were at length brought back and made to flow smoothly and regularly through their proper channels, in which they have ever since kept their course—that the grand and magnificent constitutional fabric of this country, the pride of this great nation and the wonder of the civilized world, the guardian of our rights and the fortress of our liberties, uprose and assumed its present shape, and acquired those noble and beauteous proportions it now possesses. Out of anarchy sprung order, and misrule became the parent of good government. Like the splendid and venerable fabric, Westminster Abbey, whose rise is so associated with our national history, and whose aisles contain the ashes of the greatest men by whom that history has been adorned, our constitutional and jurisprudential system uprose, by small beginnings, and gradually acquired symmetry and order. Even now are we able to trace the uncouth hand of the almost barbaric Saxon, who in the one case exercised his rude ingenuity in the arches which he reared and the sculp-

tures which he carved; and in the other exhibited his penetration and sagacity in the framing of those wise and subtle rules of policy which have ever since served as the superstructure on which a more refined and complete jurisprudential code has been erected. By slow degrees, by the labour of successive ages, and by the genius of various minds, the fabric has in each case at length been brought to its full maturity, and to attain that stupendous majesty and sublimity it now possesses. Defects may belong to each, as to everything human, and are what mainly attest their origin from man; although these very defects are in turn eclipsed by the varied excellences of each, and by the perfection of the whole. To lasting ages may these stupendous structures continue to endure, not only undefaced by time, but by us corrected and repaired from the defects which time may have effected in them—a duty we owe alike to our progenitors and our posterity—and to the remotest periods which time reaches may they stand, by age becoming not only more venerable but more solid; monuments alike of the genius and wisdom of those who upraised them, and no less so of the piety and patriotism of those who spared no sacrifice to prevent their falling into ruin.

INDEX.

AASA the evil adviser, her death with Ingiald, 185.
Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, 174.
Actors' lists, The, from 1578 to 1642, A paper on, by Mr. F. G. Fleay, 44—81.
Acts of Parliament relating to the Hanseatic league, 113.
Adam of Bremen, The authority of his works, 209.
Admiral's men, The, 58, 67, 69.
Adolphus, Count of Holstein, founds Lubeck, 85.
Aix-la-Chapelle, The conference at, convoked by Charlemagne, 157.
Alcuin of York, 156, 157, 159, 169.
Alderman of the Haunce, The, 93, 104, 135.
Alexandria, Religious electicism at, 153.
Allen, Dr., 24, 31.
Alsatia, its right of sanctuary, 227.
Alvilda, wife of Sigurd Ring, 196.
Amalhar, a Gallic bishop, 203.
Amsterdam, The trade of, 128.
Amund, a king amongst the Swedes, 206.
Anglo-Saxon sagas, The, 176.
Annales Laurissenses, The, 197.
Annales Oddenses, The, commenced by Saemund, 180.
Anselm, St., 169.
Anskar, a missionary to the Swedes, 201; Archbishop of Hamburg, 203, 207, 209.
Antwerp,—connected with the League, 91, 98; its commerce, 117; became a comptoir, 120.
Anulo, understood to be Sigurd Ring, 198; probably the corrupt form of a Norse name, 199.
Apulia or Pillen, The siege of, 213.
Aras, John of, a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.
Are-hin-Frode, The works of, 178, 180.
Ardgar, the anchorite, miracles attributed to, 205.
Aristotle systematized, the studies of poetry and art, 5.
Armada, The, provided with stores by the league, 125.
Arms, The, of the Wends, 194.
Assassination of Catholics in prison, urged by Lord Huntingdon, the Lord President of the North, 27.
Audr, the daughter of Ivar, the story of her marriage, 186.
Augusta, John, chief Bishop of the Unitas fratrum, imprisoned, 145.
Aylmer, Bishop, 39.

BALLADS on the death of Campion, 33.
Barber, Edward, priest, executed, 24.
Bari, in Naples, 139.
Bath, The town of, in the seventeenth century, 235.
Bear-gardens in London, 229.
Beer, the national drink in Scotland in 1688, 237.
Benedict IX., Pope—his character described by Victor III., 171.
Berengar, Emperor in Italy, 160.
Bergen, a trading town of the Hanseatic league, 91, 99, 103.
Berlin, The city of, receives the Swedes, 217.
Bernard, Duke of Weimar, 218.
Bernard, St., 163, 164.
Berserkers, The, from Telemarken, 194.
Beverley, The Gild of St. John of, 84.
Biblia Glossata, The, put forth by monks, 168.
Billingsgate, a place of foreign trade in 979, 83.
Bills of Exchange, Money to be paid by (1409), 103.
Biorn Hauge, King, 200, 202, 212.
Birka, The royal port of, 201; its site, 202; assembly held at, to establish Christianity, 212.

Bishops and abbots to be invested by the Emperor, 163.
Bishops, The Elizabethan, 31; were persecutors of Catholics, 38—40.
Bishopsgate,—the controversy respecting the repair of, 93; custody of, settled by treaty, 109.
Bitek, Jacob, imprisoned at Krivoklat, 145.
Blackfriars' players, The list of, 47.
Bloodhounds kept to hunt freebooters, 243.
Boar's Head, The Queen's men acted at the, 63.
Bolingbroke, Viscount, 6; advocated the study of general history, 6; compared Lucullus with Marlborough, 7; forerunner of Voltaire, Lessing, and Herder, 6; exposed historical jugglers, 7.
Bona, The Princess, her marriage to the King of Poland, 139.
Boonen, Guillaume, the first Queen's coachman, 240.
Boston, a depot of the Hanseatic league, 111, 136.
Bottomry, the only form of insurance recognised in the code of the Hanseatic league, 126.
Boy-players, The, 45, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61.
Brage the Aged, the Scald, 202.
Brand, Bishop of Holen, the writings of, 180.
Brandenburg, The Elector of, his alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, 217,
Bravalla, The fight at, 193, 195.
Breisach in the Brisgau,—the capture of, 218; negotiations at, 220; description of the church of St. Stephen at, 223.
Bremen,—the city of, 85; its decline, 129; the see of, 208; Adam of, 209.
Bretzslaw, The castle of, granted to Dubravius, 140.
Bristol, The town of, in 1660, 233.
British missionaries, The early, 159.
Bruges,—a factory of the Hanseatic league, 90, 98, 99; the congress at, 115; its decay 120.
Brunswick, The city of, at war with the Hanseatic league, 101.
Burbadge, James, the father of the actors, 54.
Buxton, a place of resort in the seventeenth century, 235.

CÆSAR, the title of, granted to Charlemagne, 157.
Campion,—Edmund, his youth, 30; success at Oxford, 31; in favour with the Queen's Ministers, 31; his letter to Bishop Cheney, 31; his personal influence at Oxford, 32; departure from England, 32; return as a priest and capture, 32; offer made to him to conform, 32; tortured on the rack, 33; his trial, 33; execution, 33; popular ballads on his death, 33.
Canossa, meeting at, between Henry IV. and Gregory VII., 162.
Carlovingian Kings, The, 158.
Caroline books, The, issued by Charlemagne, 156.
Carriages, The introduction of, into England, 240.
Casimir, King of Poland, captured Culm, 106.
Catesby family, The documents of the, 234.
Catholic religion, The, was the instrument of education, 167; its lasting influence, 168.
Catholics, The number of, in the North, 41.
Catholic prisoners, The sufferings of, 26, 27.
Cecil, Secretary, 31, 32.
Celtes, Conrad, the teacher of Dubravius, 138.
Chamberlain's, The, company of actors, 48, 67, 70.
Chance, the doctrine of, 5.
Chandos', Lord, company of actors, 67.
Changes of actors from one company to another, 45, 48, 59, 62, 65.
Chapel, the children of the, 60.
Chapman, Mr. John H., a paper by, on the Persecution under Elizabeth, 21-43.
Characters, sustained by Shakespeare, 50, 52; by Burbage, 53; by Kempe, 55; by Cowley, 55; by Lowin, 55; by Armin, 56; by Taylor, 56; by Shank, 57; by Swanston, 57.
Charlemagne—crowned, 154; his policy, 155; issued the Caroline books, 156; revised existing laws, 157; established free education, 167; envoys sent to, by Sigfred, 197.
Charles', Prince, company of actors, 67.
Charnace, an agent of Richelieu 217,
Charters granted to foreign merchants 88, 89, 92.
Chastleton House, in Oxfordhire, 234.
Cheney, shop of Gloucester, 31.

Cheruel, M., his account of the battles of Freiburg, 223.
Chief actors, The order of succession among, 51, 52.
Children, Companies of, as actors, 45; the names of their masters, 45; the Paul's children, 54; children of the revels, 55, 56, 61; children of the chapel, 60.
Chinese morals, the same as Christian ethics, 14
Christian Church, The first, on the Scandinavian mainland, 202; in Denmark, 209.
Christian Monasticism, a protest against barbarism, 168; was actively an educator, 168.
Christmas festivities and customs, 230.
Churchey, George, of Lions Inn, the translator of Dubravius' work, "A new book of good Husbandry, &c.," 150.
Church of England Quarterly Review quoted, 37.
Cities of the League, The, 87, 89, 95, 97, 110, 115; divided into four classes, 94.
Clitherow, Margaret, pressed to death, 37.
Cloth, The trade in English, 113, 117, 121, 122.
Cockpit Theatre, the, 65.
Coinage, The, of the Easterlings, 89.
Coke's false statement, that there were no deaths for religion in the reign of Elizabeth, 21, 29.
Collier, Mr.,—his history of the stage, 44; annals of the stage, 45, 47, 49, 52, 53, 59; Life of Armin, 56; Life of Alleyn, 62, 70; the errors in his works, 47, 52, 54, 55, 59, 61, 67,
Cologne, a city of the Hanseatic league, 98; chief city of the second region, 110; friendly with England, 106, 110.
Cologne merchants, The, established in Dowgate, 82; a charter granted to, 89.
Commerce, The, of the Hanseatic league in 1600, 128.
Compactata, The, granted by the Council of Basle, 139, 143.
Companies of Actors, The,—Lane's, 45; Earl of Warwick's, 45; Earl of Leicester's, 45; Queen's players, 45, 48, 49, 63, 64, 70; Strange's company, 46, 48, 49, 67, 68, 70; Earl of Sussex', 46, 70; the Chamberlain's, 48, 67, 70; the Paul's children, 54; the King's company, 55, 67; the children of the Revels, 55, 56, 61, 67, 68, 69; the Palsgrave's company, 57; Earl of Worcester's, or Earl of Derby's company, 58, 63, 66, 67; the Admiral's men, 58, 67, 69; Prince Henry's players, 59, 68; Pembroke's company, 59; the children of the chapel, 60, 67; Duke of York's company, 61, 63, 67, 68; Princess Elizabeth's company, 61, 63; Lady Elizabeth's, or united company, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69; Queen Anne's men, 63, 64, 67, 69; Queen Henrietta's men, 64, 67, 68; His Majesty's company of revels, 65; Lord Chandos' company, 67; Prince Charles' company, 67; Duke of Lennox' players, 70.
Concordat, The, of Worms, 162.
Constantinople, the transfer of the Empire to, 153; General Council at, 158.
Contrast, The, between the methods of English, French, and German historical writers, 9, 16.
Copenhagen captured, 97; its rise in commercial importance, 114.
Cori, or Curones, The expeditions against, 212.
Corn, an early instance of protective import duty on, 107.
Cornhill noted for receivers of stolen goods, 225.
Costume, the, of the 16th and 17th centuries, 236.
Cracow, the marriage at, of Elizabeth of Bohemia to Sigismund, King of Poland, 142.
Criminals, how dealt with in England in the 16th and 17th centuries, 248.
Crusades, Effect of the, on civilization, 164.
Culm captured from the Hanseatic league by Casimir, King of Poland, 106.
Curtain Theatre, The, 63.
Cusarde, Ralph de (citizen of Culm), a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.

DAHLMANN, the Danish historian, 182.
Dal, the Fat, 194.
Dale, John de, a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.
Dale, The bailiwick of, in Iceland, 177.

Dantzic, 85, 129.
Dark Ages, The, inaccuracy of the term, 165.
Davies, John, his "Scourge of Folly" quoted, 51.
Dealings, The, of the Hanse merchants, honourable in their nature, 135.
Decem Rationes, The various editions of the, 32.
Decline, The, of the Hanseatic league, 117; its cause, 120.
Decretum, The, of Gratian, 166.
Deistic writers of England, The, 11.
Denevar, Tudero de, a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.
D'Enghien, The Duke, 221-223.
Denmark, English actors at the Court of, 46.
D'Erlach, General, The memoir of, by M. de Gonzenbach, 219.
Deuteronicene Council, The decrees of the, condemned, 156.
Deverox als Woodson, Nicholas, priest, executed, 24.
Disabilities of Catholics, in respect of property, 36; removed, 37.
Disputes between English merchants and the Hanseatic league, 102; arrest of foreign merchants at Boston, 103, 105; conference as to, at Antwerp, 112; as to trade in woollen cloths, 113, 124.
Ditmarsh, one of the three original cities of the Hanseatic league, 89.
Dream, The, of Rurick, 188; of Ivar Vidfame, 190.
Dresden, English actors at, in 1601, 66.
Drontheim anciently called Nidaros, 179.
Drury Lane, The condition of, in the 17th century, 226.
Domestic Everyday Life, Manners, and Customs, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a paper by Dr. G. Harris, F.S.A., 224—253.
Donations, The, of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis I., 160.
Dorestadt, Christian converts at, 209.
Dort, a comptoir of the Hanseatic league, 120.
Dubravius, Bishop of Olmütz, The life and writings of, a paper by the Rev. A. H. Wratislaw, M.A., 137—151; his birth, 137; studied at Vienna and Padua, 138; canon and archdeacon of Olmütz, 138; ambassador to the court of Milan, 139; to the King of Poland, 140; commanded the regiment of the Bishop of Olmütz, 141; elected Bishop of Olmütz, 141; accompanied the Princess Elizabeth to Cracow, 142; his conference with the Utraquists, 143; his toleration towards heretics, 146; his death, 146; his numerous literary works, a list of, 147—151; his character, 151.
"Duchess of Malfy," Double cast of the play of, 51.
Duties, import and export, imposed by England, 119, 124.

Easterlings, The, 89, 94; obstruct English merchants, 96; a petition against, 104; statute against the customs of, 107.
Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, 203.
Ecclesiastical and civil authority, The, relations between, 153; were indefinite, 154, 159; under Charlemagne, 158; under Otho the Great, 160; under Henry IV., 162; settlement of, by the Concordat of Worms, 162; in modern times, 172.
Edda, The, 176, 196.
Edward I. of England, his charter to the merchants of the Teutonic Gildhall, 92.
Effeminacy, The, of German and Slavonic races, when compared with Scandinavians, 195.
Eginhardt's, annals, 176, 196, 200.
Ehm, Colonel, A banquet given by, at Pontarslier, 219.
Elbing, English merchants allowed to reside at, 126.
Elder Edda, The, written by Saemund, 180.
Elementary Code Act, 1870, The, compared with the Trivium and Quadrivium, 165.
Elderton, William, master of the Westminster boys, 45.
Elizabeth's, Princess, company of actors, 61, 63; Lady Elizabeth's, or united company, 62, 64, 67-69.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, The persecution for religion under, 21-43; proposed the secret assassination of Mary, Queen of Scots, 27; personal motive of, for the persecution of Tregian, 28; Shakespeare and others acted before, 49; her disputes with the Hanseatic league, 124; her expedition to avenge the Armada, 125; expelled the Hanse merchants, 128.

Enfield, The scarcity of houses at, 243.
England, The study of history has been neglected in, 2, 8; only now commencing, 18.
English actors in Denmark, 46; Saxony, 46, 66; at Memmingen, 66; at Dresden, 66; at Ulm, 66.
English historical writers—Bolingbroke, 6; Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, and Hallam, 8; recent authors, 18; effect of their writings, 18.
Eric, King of Denmark, 208.
Eric, the Helsinger, 194.
Erigena, John Scot, 159, 169.
Errors, The, of Mr. Collier, in his works on the stage, 47, 52, 54, 55, 59, 61, 67.
Essayists and Reviewers, 18.
Evelyn, John, Esq., privileged to dig for saltpetre, 131.
Executions, the, number of, for religion, in Elizabeth's reign, 26, 35.
Eyases, the, boy actors, 60.

FACTORIES of the league, The chief, 86, 98, 107, 111.
Factories, The English, on the Baltic coast, 83.
Facts are treated by English historians from a sectarian point of view, 9, 16, 37.
"Fair Em," The play of, 46.
Famine in Brunswick, The, caused by the enmity of the Hanseatic league, 101.
Farm Houses, The, were fortified in the 16th century, 243.
Farrant, Richard, Master of the Windsor Boys, 45.
Fees, The, exacted from prisoners at York and Hull, 26.
Fellows of colleges, the, at Oxford were opposed to the change of religion, 31, 42.
Fen Eagles, The, in Norfolk, 244.
Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, crowned king of Bohemia, 140; applied to Dubravius for money, 142.
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 16
Filioque, The, in the creed, owes acceptance to Charlemagne, 156.
Fines for recusancy, 22, 24; the effect of, 36.
Fish-ponds and fish-culture, a work on, by Dubravius, 149; translated into English, 150; quoted by Isaak Walton and Mr. Buckland, 135.
Flateyiar Annall, The, 180.
Fleay, Mr. F. G., a paper by, on actors' lists, 1578-1642, 44-81; the Shakespeare manual by, 44; edition of King John by, 46.
Fleetwood, Mr., Recorder, 30.
Flemings, The, banished from England, 112.
Fletcher, Lawrence, a shareholder of the Globe, comedian to his Majesty, 57.
Flying Coach, The, 240.
Food, The, in use in the 16th century, 237.
Formby, Mr., a convert to Catholicism, 153.
Fortune Theatre, The, 60; burnt in 1621, 69.
Francis II. resigned the title of Roman Emperor, 167.
Franco-Roman empire, The, was impossible, if history had been rightly studied, 9, 10.
Frankfort, The council of, 156.
Freiburg, The fortress of,—surrendered to France, 221; captured by the Imperialists, 221; victory of the French near, 223.
French historical writers, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, 8; Thiers, 9; Guizot, 10; defects of, 9—11.
Fresh meat seldom eaten in England in the reign of Henry VII., 244.
Frideburg, or Fretheburg, a Swedish Christian convert and confessor, 207.
Fugger, Antonius, 149.

GARDARIKI, the kingdom of, 189.
Gascons, The, subjects of England, seize a ship of Stettin, 102.
Gauzbert, or Simeon, Bishop, 204, 205, 209.
Genealogical table, The, of early Kings of Sweden, 215.
General history, The study of, is neglected in England, 2, 7, 8; but is encouraged abroad, 2.
Germany, The geographical position of, furthered the study of history, 14.
German language, The, affected by the Reformation, 12; versions of Shakespeare's plays in the, 47.
——— historical writers, the method of, 5, 12, 14, 15, 16; names of standard writers of the present century, 17; surpass the French in activity, 11.
——— and Slavonic races, the effeminacy of, compared with Scandinavians, 195.

Gildhalda Tutonicorum, The, 83, 88, 100, 112, 134.
Giles, Thomas, master of the Paul's Boys, 45.
Globe Theatre, The, 71; shareholders of, 57.
Godfred. The sons of, 200.
Golden Bull, The, 163.
Gotteschalcus,—raised the Predestinarian controversy, 159; the fatalism of, 169.
Gratian, The Decretum of, 166.
Granmar, King, 182.
Green's History of the English people, an inaccurate statement in, 38
Greene, Robt, the poet of the Queen's company, 46.
Gregory VII., Pope.—Penance of the Emperor, Henry VII., 162; his claims, 170, 171.
Gudrod the Magnificent, 198.
Guébriant, General, 218, 219, 220, 221.
Guiche, Marshal de, 222.
Guildhall, the, of the Haunce merchants, in Thames-street, 100
Guizot, his History of the English Revolution, 10.
Gunpowder and naval stores sold only by the German Steelyard merchants in 1568, 122.
Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, 216, 217, 218.
Gustavus Erickson, King of Sweden, alliance of, with the Hanse towns, 116.

HADRIAN, the social reforms of, 152.
Hakon, King of Norway, 177.
Halfdane, the son of Harald, a pirate, 198.
Hall of Sidu, 179;—Thorarinson, 179; —of Haukadal, 179.
Hallam, Mr., An inaccurate statement of, 37.
Halliwell, Mr., Illustrations, 47, 48, 49, 53; Dictionary of old English plays, 64.
Hamburg, 85; one of the original cities of the Hanseatic league, 89; the trade of, with Denmark and Norway, 115; its commerce, 117; English merchants expelled from, 124; archbishopric created at, 203; the capture and burning of, by pirates, 204; the see of, united to that of Bremen, 208.
Hamburdge, Bartram of, a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.
Hameln, one of the three original cities of the Hanseatic league, 89.
Hamlet's madness explained, 63.
Hance, or Haunce, Everard, priest, 30; the barbarity of his execution, 30.
Hanseatic confederacy, The,—was monastic in its character, 83, 84, 92; its rise, 86; its cause, 87; conditions of membership of, 87; formal establishment of, 89; limited at first to three cities, 89; settlement of, in Norway, 91; in England, 92; blockaded the Norwegian ports, 93; its internal constitution, 94; rights and obligations of its members, 94; war with Denmark, 96; its domain, 97, 110; war with the city of Brunswick, 101; with Queen Margaret of Denmark, 101; 14 towns cut off from, 115; assists Gustavus Vasa, 116; sold Denmark to England, 116; defeated by Danes and Swedes, 117; decline of its privileges and power, 117, 119, 123; its commerce in 1600, 128; expelled from England, 128; an attempted resuscitation of, 129; alliance with the Dutch, 131; its dissolution, 133; its historical importance, 134; subsidized English kings, 134; was an organized attempt to monopolize trade, 135.
Hanseatic league, An outline history of the, more particularly in its bearings upon English commerce, a paper by Mr. Cornelius Walford, 82—136.
Hanshus, The,—at Beverley, 84; at York, 85.
Harald Blaatand, King, 176, 193.
Harald Fairhair, King, 178, 180, 182.
Harald Hildetand, King, 185, 187, 191, 192. 195.
Harald Huitbein, King of Westfold, 198.
Harald Sigurdson, 179.
Haroun-al-Raschid, the Caliph, conceded privileges to Charlemagne, 156.
Harris, Dr. G., a paper by, on domestic every-day life, manners, and customs in this country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (part V.) 224—253.
Hart, William, of Lincoln College, Oxford, priest, executed, 34.
Haukadal, Hall of, 179.
Hawking, The sport of, 229.
Heidelberg, The University of, 6.
Heimskringla, The, 177, 181, 182, 184, 186, 197, 198.

Helgius, the ruler of Jutland with Ruric, 186; the murder of, 189.
Henrietta's, Queen, men, 64, 67, 68.
Henry IV., The Emperor, his penance, 162.
Henry III. of England, his charter to the Steelyard merchants, 88; to the Cologne merchants, 89.
Henry's, Prince, company of actors, 59, 68.
Henlow's Diary, 58, 59, 63, 67, 69.
Herbert's, Sir H., office book, 1622, 59.
Hercules' Pillars, The tavern called, 238.
Herder, Johann Gottfried, founder of Humanism, 16; his writings on ethnology, 16.
Herigar, or Hergeir, a supporter of the Christians in Sweden, 202, 205, 206.
Herring Fishery, The, established in Flanders, 103.
Hervavar Saga, The, 192, 200, 202.
Heywood, Mr. James, A Paper by, on the transference of the German Weimarian army to the Crown of France in the seventeenth century, 216—223.
High roads, The, in the seventeenth century, 239.
History,—a science, 3; defined, 4; its importance, 4; its treatment by English, French, and German writers contrasted, 16; its greatest enemies, 19; is the study of humanity, 17, 19, 20; its great practical use, 18.
Histriomastix, The, actors in, 66.
Hohenstaufens, The house of the, 163.
Holland's Leaguer, list of actors in (1631), 65.
Holy places, The, were the objects of the Crusades, 164.
Holy Roman Empire,—meaning of the term, 154; finally passed away, 167.
Home-made drinks, The, of England, 238.
Honnis, William, master of the chapel boys, 45.
Hopton, governor of the Tower, 32.
Horak, John, of Milesovka, his agreement as to the bishopric of Olmutz, 141.
Hordus, the God, 190.
Howorth, Mr. H. H., a paper by, on the *Early History of Sweden*, 174—215.
Huam, the birthplace of Snorro Sturleson, 177.
Huersu Noregr bygdest, The, 192.
Humanism founded by Herder, 16.
Humanity, The study of, 19, 20.
"Humorous Lieutenant," the play of, its date fixed, 53.
Hundondale, Godestalke of, a merchant of the Haunce, in London, 93.
Huntingdon, Lord, advised the murder of Catholics in prison, 27.
"Hyndluljod," The poem called, 192.
Hythin the Graceful, 194.

ICELAND, The first bishop in, 180.
Icelandic writers, The,—Are-hin-Frode, 178, 180; Isleif, Saemund-hin-Frode, Kolskegg, Brand, 180.
Imperialists, The, defeated by the Swedes, 217; victory of, at Nordlingen, 218
Ingiald the Ill-ruler, 184; his death, 185.
Inglingatal, The, 178.
Inglings, The, 178, 184, 198, 199, 200.
Inns, The, in England, 246.
Inaugural Address, The, by Dr. G. G. Zerffi, on the Science of History, 1.
Inner Temple Masque, The, 62.
Insularity, The, of Englishmen, 18.
Insurance, Marine, not referred to in the code of the Hanseatic league, 126.
International Idea, The, compared with the national, 17.
Inventory, An, of the goods of a country squire, in the reign of Charles I., 238.
Investiture of Ecclesiastics by the sceptre, 163.
Irons, The Rev. W. J., D.D., a paper by on the Reconstruction of the Civilization of the West, from Charlemagne (*transitio imperii*) to the era of the Crusades (and Concordat, 1122), 152, 173.
Islandinga bok, The, 180.
Islif, 179; the first bishop in Iceland, 180.
Ivar, Vidfame, King, 181, 182, 185, 188; his dream, 190; the death of, 191.

JAMES I., the adulation of, in "Macbeth" explained, 52.
Jena, The university of, 19; Schiller one of its professors, 19.
Jessopp, the Rev. Dr., his work, "One Generation of a Norfolk House," 33.
John XII., Pope, deposed, 161.
Judaism, The influence of, on Christianity, 152.
Julin, The city of, destroyed by the Danes, 87.

Jutland, The kingdom of, 186.

KANT, Immanuel, his method cosmopolitan, 16; followed by Schilling, Stahl, Hegel, Humboldt, Schlegel, and Gervinus, 16.
Kempe, Wm., actor, 46, 55, 65, 66, 67.
Kemper, The battle of, 221.
King's-Beam, The, or stiliard, 83.
King's company of actors, The, 55, 67.
Kingsmill, Sir William, his speech at the execution of Slade, 34; of Body, 35.
"King John," Mr. Fleay's edition of, 46.
Kolmarker Forest, The, 194.
Kolskegg, The works of, 180.
Konigsberg founded, 85.
Krafft, Peter, Bishop of Ratisbon, 148.
Kremsier, the palace of the Bishop of Olmutz, 138—146.
Krivoklat, Jacob Bitek imprisoned at, 145.
Kunstat, Lord William of, ambassador of the King of Poland to the court of the Duke of Milan, 139.

LAND in England only half cultivated in 1685, 243.
Landnama bok, The, 180.
Lane's company of actors, 45.
Lanfedgatal, The famous table called the, 176, 183, 192.
Larded Sara, The, an instrument of torture, 250.
Lagmen, The, 179.
Laymen—executed in the reign of Elizabeth, 38; in the North opposed to the change of religion, 41.
Lazar-houses, The, 226.
Lea, Richard, priest, executed, 24.
Leicester, The Earl of, 31, 32; his company of actors, 45.
Leipzig, The battle of, 217.
Lennox, Duke of, players, 70.
Leo III., Pope, crowned Charlemagne, 154.
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, proclaimed the doctrine of tolerance, 15.
Lethra, the seat of government of the Scioldungs, 184.
Letters from Bishops urging measures against Catholics, 38, 39.
Library, The, of Hamburgh burnt, 204.
Licence to make saltpetre and gunpowder granted to the Earl of Worcester for 21 years, 131.
Lighting, The, of the streets of London in the reign of Charles II., 228.
Line, Anne, flogged and hanged, 37.
Liverpool, The town of, 233.
Lombards, The, subdued by Charlemagne, 155; History of the, 176, 196.
London, The progress of, in the 16th and 17th centuries, 226; Disorders in the streets of, 228; Lighting of its streets, 228.
"London Lickpenny," The ballad called the, 225.
Longueville, The Duke of, 220, 221.
Louis, The Emperor, founded the see of Hamburg, 203.
Louis the Pious succeeded Charlemagne, 158.
Lubeck, The city of, erected, 85; the chief city of the league, 86; its progress, 87; burnt by Danes, 114; decline of, 129; a treaty negotiated at, 216.
Lund, Absalon Archbishop of, 174.
Lutzen, The battle of, 218.
Lydgate, John, A ballad by, 225.
Lynn, Three ships of, sent to assist Denmark, 101; a depôt of the Hanseatic league, 111, 136.

MAGNUS, King of Sweden, deposed by the Hanseatic league, 96.
Mahometanism, Effect of the inroads of, 166.
Managers, The, of the Queen's company of actors, 47.
Managers, The, of Actors' companies summoned before the Privy Council, 63.
Marbod, Gerard, alderman of the Haunce, 93.
Marburg, The university of, 14.
Margaret, Queen of Denmark, the conflict of, with the Hanseatic league, 101.
Martinmas beef, 244.
Mary, Queen of England, her State entry into London, 30.
Mary, Queen of Scots, The proposed assassination of, in prison, 27.
Master of the Sentences, The, 169.
Masque, The, of the Inns of Court, in 1633, 232.
May-day, The festival of, 230.
May-pole, The, in Cornhill, 231.
Mayence, the city of, the centre of an association of towns of Friesland and Holland, 92.

Mayne, Cuthbert, 27, his indictment, 28; Statutory treason only alleged against him, 29, 35.
Mazarin, Cardinal, 221.
Memmingen, English actors at, in 1600, 66.
Mercatores Alemanniæ, A grant to, 96.
Merchant Adventurers, The English company of, 112, 113, 117, 122, 125, 126.
Merchant Fleets in the Baltic, early notice of, 201.
Mercy, General, 221, 222.
"Messalina," The cast of parts in, 65.
Metaphysicians are the enemies of history, 19.
Ministers of the State Church received recusants' fines, 40.
Miracle, The, attributed to Ardgar, the anchorite, 205.
Misrule, The Lord of, 230.
Missionaries, The, from Britain—Columban, Boniface, Alcuin, Erigena, 159.
Modern English historical writers, 18; have effected a change in the spirit of historical inquiry, 18; their names, 18.
Modern German historical writers, The number of, 17; the names of, 17.
Mohars, The battle of, and death of King Louis of Bohemia, 140.
Monastic Orders,—the influence of, on education, 154, 168; their great services to literature, 165, 168; supported the Papacy, 161; were the fathers of free thought, 169.
Montesquieu, constructive in method, 8.
Morris, Rev. J., his works quoted, 26, 27, 39—41.
Moss-troopers, The, 242.
Motive, The, of the Elizabethan persecution, 40.
Muhlberg, Victory at, 144.
Mulcaster, Richard, master of the merchant taylors' boys, 45.
Muller, The "Saga Bibliothek" of, 182.
Munday, Anthony, ballad writer, 66.
Munster, The peace of Westphalia signed at, 223.
Muscovy, The Grand Duke of, destroys Novgorod, a factory of the Hanseatic league, 107.

NAMES of Actors, The various spelling of, 70; tables of, 72—81.

Narrative, The, of the transference of the German Weimarian army to the Crown of France in the seventeenth century, a paper by Mr. James Heywood, F.R.S., F.S.A., 216-223.
Nassau, The Count of, 220.
Nelson, John, priest, executed, 29.
News-letters, The, 245.
New Shakespeare Society, The transactions of, 49, 58, 59, 62, 63.
Nicholas, Pope, unites the sees of Hamburg and Bremen, 208.
Nidaros or Drontheim, 179.
Nordlingen, The battle of, 218.
Norse Kings, The, a sacred caste, 184.
Norse literature, The authority of, 183.
Norsemen, The, were traders, 179, 201, 211.
Northumbria, The date of the conquest of, by Norsemen, 181.
Norwich, The town of, in the seventeenth century, 233.
Novgorod (on the Ilmen), a factory of the Hanseatic league, 86, 99; destroyed by the Grand Duke of Muscovy, 107.
Nuremberg, Torture chamber at, 249.

OCTAVIAN, the Consul, made himself Pope, 160.
Olaf, the Tree-feller, 185.
Olaf the Saint, King, was a trader, 179.
Opinion, faith, knowledge, The distinction between, laid down by Kant, 16.
Oppenheim, A general assembly of the league of the Rhine held at, 90.
Orm, the Englishman, 194,
Otho, the Great, 160, 161.
Ottacar, King of Bohemia, founds Konigsberg, 85.
Oxford University, in Queen Elizabeth's time, was opposed to the change in religion, 31, 42.

PAGEANTS in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 232.
Palsgrave's, The, company of actors, 57.
Papal decrees and synods from the time of Pope Siricius, The importance of, 157.
Pardubitz, in Bohemia, The fish-ponds at, 148.
Parker, Archbishop, his consecration canvassed at Oxford, 31; letter of, 39.
Patent Rolls, A grant to German merchants, entered on the, 96.

Patents, Theatrical, 52, 62.
Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards by, 176.
Paul's children, 54, 61.
Paulet, Sir Amias, refused to assassinate Mary Queen of Scots in prison, 27.
"Peine fort et dure," The, 250.
Pembroke's company of actors, 59.
Penal laws, 13; against Catholics, 21, 24; number of sufferers under, 26, 35; include poor people, 24, 36.
Pepin, King of the Franks, 155; donation of, 160.
Perpetual Edict, The, 152.
Persecution, The, under Elizabeth; a paper, by Mr. John H. Chapman, 21—43.
Petitions, against foreigners, of the citizens of London, 100; of the Commons in Parliament, 104; of merchants, 104.
Phœnix Theatre, The, 64, 69.
Phocas the Emperor, 157.
Photian Schism, The, 158.
Picards, The, or Bohemian brethren, 144.
Pillen, or Apulia, The siege of, 213.
Pilsen, The birthplace of Dubravius, 137.
Pirates, The Norse, 201.
Plague, Effect of the, on the Stage, 45, 52.
Plough-Monday, Old customs on, 230.
Plymouth, The town of, in 1607, 233.
Political power, The, of the Hanseatic League, 95, 102, 134.
Pomerania, Military operations of the Swedes in, 217.
Pontarslier, A banquet at, to the Duke of Weimar, 219.
Popes, The election of, by the College of Cardinals, 162.
Post, The establishment of a regular, 244.
Præmunire, The effect of, 22.
Predestinarian controversy, The, 159.
Press Yard, The, in Newgate, 250.
Prince Electors of the Empire, The, 163.
Privileges granted to foreign merchants in England, 88, 89, 92, 96, 100, 101, 104, 105, 106, 113.
Protective legislation as to importation of corn, Early instance of, 107.
Pufendorf, Samuel, established the first special chair for the study of History, 6; founder of Sociology, 6.
Queen Anne's men, The, 63, 64, 67, 69.
Queen's players, The, 45, 48, 49, 63, 64, 70.

Rabanus, the monk, succeeded Alcuin, 169.
Radbard, King of Gardariki, 189.
Ragnar Lodbrog, King, 182, 197, 202.
Randver, the son of Radbard, 193.
Ratisbon, Torture chamber at, 249.
Raumariki, The kingdom of, 196.
Reconstruction, The, of the civilization of the West, from Charlemagne (*transitio imperii*) to the era of the Crusades (and Concordat, 1122), a paper by the Rev. W. J. Irons, D.D. 152-173.
Recusants, The number of, 24, 42.
Red Bull, The theatre at the, 64.
Reidgothia, 188, 189.
Reformation, The, in Germany, an intellectual movement, 12; its effect on the German language, 12; gave an impulse to the study of history, 13; in England a political movement, 13.
Rembert, St., The narrative of, 200, 203, 207, 208, 211, 212; a miracle narrated by, 205.
Revels at Court, The accounts of, 45, 50, 60-62.
Revels, The children of the, 55, 56, 61.
Revolution, The, in France, due to aristocrats, bureaucrats, and bigots, 8; displayed ignorance of history, 9.
Rheims, Ebbo, Archbishop of, 203.
Rheinfelden, The, town of, taken by the Duke of Weimar, 218; surrendered to France, 221.
Rhine, The league of the, 90.
Richelieu, Cardinal, 216; his character, described by himself, 219; his death, 221.
Riga founded, 85.
Robsart, Amy, The funeral of, 31.
Rodolph II., The Emperor, remonstrates with Queen Elizabeth on behalf of the Hanseatic league, 123; special envoy sent to, 126.
Roman Emperor, The title of, finally resigned by Francis II., of Austria, 167.
Roman law, The influence of, 152, 162, 168.
Rome the natural centre of Christianity, 152.
Rosen, General, 220, 221.
Rousseau Socialistic in method, 8.

Royal Historical Society, The progress of the, 1.
Rurick, King of Jutland, 186; his dream, 188.
Ryswick, The, treaty of, 223.

SAEMUND-HIN-FRODE, The works of, 180.
Sacrifices for all Viken held at Skiringsal, 198.
St. Giles-in-the-Fields separate from London, 226.
St. Martin's Lane, The condition of, in the seventeenth century, 226.
St. Quentin, Dudo de, The works of, 176.
Sagas, The, are of two classes, 174; their authority, 184.
Salisbury Court players, The, 65.
Salt, The trade in, was a monopoly of the Hanseatic league, 99.
Saltpetre men, The, 127, 131.
Salzburg, Torture chamber at, 249.
Sandys, Archbishop, — a persecutor, 40; scandalous transaction of, 40.
Saxo Grammaticus,—his birth, 174; the authority of his writings, 175; the manifest errors of, 176, 177, 192, 193, 196, 198, 199.
Saxony, English actors in, 46, 66.
Saxony, Frederick of, his victory at Mühlberg, 144.
Scalds, The, 175, 178, 202.
Scania separated from Denmark, 197.
Schiller, Frederick, 18; professor of history at the University of Jena, 19; showed the usefulness of history, 19; its chief opponents, 19.
Schleswig, The first church in Denmark built at, 209.
Schools, The influence of, in the West, 154, 155, 165; reorganized by Alcuin, 158.
School of the Palace, The, 159, 169.
Schonen, The province of, granted by Waldemar III. to the Hanseatic league, 96.
Scioldung Saga, The, 175.
Scioldungs, The, 184, 199.
Scotland visited by Shakespeare in 1601, 57.
Seguin, Mr., the work of, on the Black Forest, 223.
Seeburg, The site of the town of, 213.
"Seven Deadly Sins," The cast of the play of, 49.
Sforza, Francesco, Duke of Milan, 139.
Shakespeare, William,—45; probably visited Denmark and Saxony with Strange's company, 46; his plays acted in Germany, 47; acted before Queen Elizabeth, 49; date of his retirement, 50; satirized by Jonson, 50; chief actor, 51; probably visited Scotland, 57; the proper method of spelling his name, 71.
Shakespeare Manual, The, by Mr. Fleay, 44.
Sherwood, Thomas,—suspected of being a Catholic, and arrested, 29; barbarously executed, 29.
Shoreditch Theatre, The, 48, 71.
Shoreditch players, The supposed list of, 48.
Sidu, Hall of, 179.
Sigismund, King of Poland, his letter to Elizabeth, admitting the English merchant adventurers, 126.
Sigurd Ring, King, 182, 193, 196.
Simpson, Richard, his works quoted, 31, 32, 46, 66.
Skala, a name of Dubravius, 139.
Skiringsal, Sacrifices held at, 198.
Slade, John, schoolmaster, and John Body, M.A., The trial and execution of, reported in a rare tract, by R. S., from Winchester, 34.
Slaughter, The Great, at the Battle of Freiburg, 223.
Snorro Sturleson, 174; his birth, 177; the authority of his works, 181, 185.
Sociology founded by Pufendorf, 6.
Sogubrot, A Saga called the, 175; its date, 182; the story of Audr, the daughter of Ivar, 186; the Fight at Bravalla, 193; Sigurd Ring, 196.
Soliman, Sultan, invades Hungary, 140.
Sound, The, vessels passing, paid tolls, 96, 120—130.
Specialists and generalizers, 17.
Spelling of Actors' names, The uncertainty of the, 70.
Speratus, Paulus, a teacher of Lutheranism in Moravia, 139; condemned as a heretic, 139.
Spies, The, of Queen Elizabeth's Government in Foreign countries, 33.
Staden, English merchants excluded from, 128.
Staple, The company of the, 122.
Staple Houses of the Hanseatic league, The, 91, 99.
Starkadr, the Poet, 194.
Static and dynamic forces, 3; conflict between, produces history, 4.

Steelyard, The,—merchants of the, 83; rules of the, 84; charter granted by Henry III. to, 88; attacked by a London mob, 112; prohibited from carrying English cloth, 113; privileges withdrawn by Edward VI., 119; regranted and again revoked by Mary, 122; sellers of gunpowder and naval stores, 122; expelled from England in 1597, 128; the discipline and internal government of, 135; oath of installation of, 135.
Sterling, Origin of the term, 89.
Stettin, The gates of, opened to the Swedes, 217.
Stolen Goods, The receivers of, at Cornhill, 225.
Storm, The on the voyage of James I. to Denmark, supposed to be caused by witchcraft, 252.
Stralsund, The siege of, 216.
Strange's company of actors, 46, 48, 49, 67—70.
Strand, The, in 1657, 226.
Submission, The form of, for a recusant, 24.
Sueno Aggeson, The works of, 177, 184.
Suhm, The chronologies of, 175, 182.
Sussex', Earl of, company of actors, 46, 70.
Sweden, The early history of, a paper by Mr. H. H. Howorth, F.S.A., 174—215.
Swedes, The,—desire instruction in the Christian faith, 201; a second mission to, 204; popular outbreak of, against Christianity, 205.
Synods of Bishops summoned by the civil power, 156.

TABLES of Actors—names, plays, characters sustained, dates, &c., 72-81.
Tagus, The capture of fly-boats in the, 125.
Tarleton, Richard, comedian, 46.
Taylor, John, master of the Westminster boys, 45.
Telemarken, Berserkers from, 194.
Terms, The, of the surrender of the Weimarian army to France, 221.
Teutonic Hanse, The, distinct from the league, 115.
Teutonic knights, The, 88, 102, 106.
Theatres,—Blackfriars, 47; Shoreditch, 48, 71; patent granted to build a theatre, 62; The Red Bull, 64; The Globe, in Bankside, 71; The Fortune, 60, 69; The Cockpit, 65; The Phœnix, 69; The Curtain, 63; The Boar's Head, 63.
Theodosius, The Emperor, 153.
Theophano, The Princess, mother of Otho III., 161.
Thiers, M., his works, 9.
Thiodolf-hin-Frode, the composer of the Inglingatal, 178.
Thompson, William, priest, executed, 24.
Thorarinson, Hall, 179.
Thorgils, the son of Gellis, 178.
Thurston, Archbishop, The charter of, to the Gild of St. John of Beverley, 84.
Thurzo, Francis, Bishop of Neutra, 148.
Thurzo, Stanislas, Bishop of Olmütz—patron of Dubravius, 138; entertained the King of Poland, 138; crowned King Louis of Bohemia, 139; his death, 141.
Tippet, one, a student of Douai, 38; tortured and executed, 39.
Traders, The German (979), were monks, 83.
Traitors in law are not always traitors in fact, 25, 35.
Travelling in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 239-242; in Scotland, in 1688, 242.
Treaty, The, at Utrecht, between England and the Hanseatic league, 108.
Tregian, Francis, 27; life of, by Plunquet, 28; his experience at Court, 28; and persecution, 28.
Trent, The Council at, 143.
Trivium and quadrivium, The, 159, 164.
Trumpet, The Tavern called the, 238.
Tolerance, The doctrine of, proclaimed by Lessing, 15.
Toll levied on vessels passing the Sound, 96, 120—130.
Tonnage and poundage imposed on the Hanse merchants, 107, 121, 122.
Torfæus, The chronologies of, 175.
Torture inflicted upon Catholic prisoners, 24, 33-39.
Torture—used in England up to 1640; abolished in Scotland in 1708, 248; in France in 1789; Russia, 1801; Bavaria, 249.
Turenne, Marshal, 221, 222.
Turholt, in Flanders, The monastery of, attached to the See of Hamburg, 203; given to Reginar, 208.

Twiss, Sir Travers, On the Hanseatic league, 92.

UBBO, The Fresian, 194.
Ujezd, The village of, given up by Dubravius to King Ferdinand, 145.
Ulm, English Actors at, in 1602, 66.
Unitas fratrum, The, 144, 145.
Upsala, The seat of government of the Inglings, 184; Eric of, 210.
Utraquists, The, 138, 143, 150.
Utrecht, A Diet held at, 105; treaty made at, 108.

VASA, GUSTAVUS, King of Sweden, assisted by the League, 116.
Vegetables, The, in use in the 16th century, 237.
Veni Creator, The, owed by the West to Charlemagne, 156.
Vico, Giovanni Battista, his method, 6.
Vitaliens, The, defeated by the Hanse towns, 100.
Voltaire, destructive in method, 8.

WALDEMAR, King of Denmark, his war with the League, 96; sacked Wisby, 99.
Waleys, Henry, Lord Mayor; his controversy with the Hanse merchants in London, 93.
Walford, Mr. Cornelius, A paper by, on the History of the Hanseatic League, more particularly in its bearings upon English commerce, 82—136.
Wallenstein, The title of, 216.
Walpole, Henry, student of Gray's Inn, 33; executed at York, 34.
"Wandering Lovers," The play of, identical with "Love's Pilgrimage," 63.
Wansum, The river, 233.
Ward, Margaret, hanged at Tyburn, 37.
Warwick's, Earl of, company of actors, 45.
Weigh-house Yard, 83.
Weights and measures, The regularity of, provided for in the rules of the Hanse merchants, 136.
Weimar, Bernard, Duke of, 218, 219; his death and will, 220.
Wends, The arms of the, 194.
Westcott, Sebastian, master of the Paul's boys, 45.
Westminster Gate, A public dinner at, 225.
Westphalia, The treaty of, contains the last mention of the Hanseatic league, 133; signed at Munster, 223.
Whipping for religion, 24, 25, 37.
White, Sir Thomas, founder of St. John's College, Oxford, 30; the funeral of, 31.
Wild boars and wild bulls, The last in England, 244.
Wild Goose Alley, 100.
"Wild Goose Chase," The cast of the play of, 51.
Winchester, The blacksmith at, flogged for refusing to attend church, 25; Tract by R. S. from, 34; Letter of the Bishop of, 39.
Winnet, The city of, destroyed by the Danes, 87.
Wisby, the capital of Gothland, 97; Staple-house of the league sacked, 99; The laws of, 126.
Wismar, The haven of, 97; fleet fitted out at, 103; destroyed by Danes, 114.
Witchcraft, The belief in, 251.
Witch-finders, The, 252.
Withmar, a monk of Corbey, 201.
Wolf, the last in England, 244.
Wolf, Christian, his work, "De Philosophia Sinensium Morali," 14.
Women executed for religion in the reign of Elizabeth, 37.
Wool, The price of, reduced by the Hanseatics, 118; the export of, by foreigners, prohibited, 124.
Worcester's, Earl of, company of actors, 58, 63, 66, 67.
Worms, the Concordat of, 162, 208.
Wratislaw, Rev. A. H., a paper by, on the life and writings of Dubravius, Bishop of Olmütz, 137—151.
Wright's "Historia Histrionica," 53, 55, 56, 57, 64, 65.

YORK'S, Duke of, company of actors, 61, 63, 67, 68.
York House, books quoted, 42.
York press, The, 246.
Yorkshire recusant's relation quoted, 26.
Yule-log, The, 230.

ZAPOLSKY, John, elected King of Hungary, 140.
Zerotin, Lord Charles of, general of the Bohemian and Moravian army, 143, 144.
Zerffi, Dr. G. G., Inaugural Address by, 1.

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BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
12th May, 1881.

IN presenting their Report on the past year to the General Meeting of the Fellows, the Council of the Royal Historical Society gladly give the first place to their expression of thanks to the Committee of Inquiry (appointed 18th November, 1880), for their valuable assistance, for although nearly every suggestion of theirs for the future management of the Society has been anticipated in resolutions already passed by the Council, still they feel that had not such a Committee been instituted they would probably not have had it in their power to have obtained the information on which the resolutions have been based. The Council have further to report that on the 5th January, 1881, the Rev. Charles Rogers asked the Council to be permitted to resign the appointments of Historiographer and Secretary of the Society then and there,

and under the circumstances he was permitted to do so, and the resignation was accepted. His connection with the Society in any capacity therefore ceased.

The Council on the same day appointed to the post of Hon. Secretary Mr. Wm. Herbage, who has performed the duties with great assiduity since that date.

A Publishing Committee was also appointed to superintend the preparation of the Volume of Transactions for the past year. This Committee consists of Dr. Zerffi, Mr. Walford, and Mr. Fleay, who have performed their duties as efficiently as the circumstances would permit.

The most important item of information recently acquired by the Council is probably the fact that on 5th January, 1881 (the date of the resignation of the late Secretary), the Society was, and had been since 31st October last, in debt to the amount of £254 5s. 6d. in addition to the expense that they would necessarily have to incur for printing Vol. IX. of the Transactions, 1880. The liability of £254 5s. 6d. has within the last four months been discharged, all current expenses have been paid, and the total debt of the Society has been reduced to two items: (1) The sum of £72 14s. due to the Treasurer, and (2) The Printers' Bill for the Transactions (Vol. IX.) both of which will, it is estimated, as well as all current expenses, be about covered by the Subscriptions still due to the Society.

The Council may therefore reasonably expect to start next session free from debt, and with no liability beyond the expenses for printing the Transactions.

This improvement in the financial position of the Society is, however, not the only cause of congratulation; there has been a corresponding improvement in the number of the Fellows: there are now on the Roll fifteen Ordinary and one Life Member more than there were on 1st January of the present year, as will be seen from the following list:—

Number of Fellows on the Roll.

	1st Jan., 1881.	*12th May*, 1881.
Ordinary Fellows	424	439
Life "	74	75
Honorary and Ex-Officio ...	61	60
Corresponding Fellows ...	22	22
TOTALS ...	581	596

The Council have, according to custom, filled up six vacancies in their body by electing the following gentlemen:—

J. H. CHAPMAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
BAKER GREENE, Esq., LL.B., M.B.
HENRY H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.
* SYDNEY ROBJOHNS, Esq.
Rev. Dr. THORNTON.
BRYCE MCMURDO WRIGHT, Esq., F.R.G.S.

The bust of the President, the Right Honourable Lord

* Mr. ROBJOHNS does not accept the nomination.

ABERDARE, F.R.S., from the studio of Mr. H. HARVEY, F.R.H.S., which was unveiled at the Meeting in last November, will henceforth hold an honoured place in the rooms of the Society.

The Council have much pleasure in stating that, under the sanction of the Society, a course of thirty Lectures is now being delivered by Dr. ZERFFI, the Chairman of the Council, at the Lecture Theatre of the South Kensington Museum, and that from a return made to them, there have been at the twenty-two Lectures already delivered, 4,187 attendances, giving an average of 190 persons at each Lecture.

Finally, the Council append the Treasurer's Receipts and Disbursements for the last year; also a Financial Statement, and the Honorary Secretary's Account up to date of this Report.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT OF ALL SUMS RECEIVED AND PAID BY HIM DURING THE YEAR ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1880.

	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1879. Nov. 1. to 1880. Oct. 31.	Balance brought forward				18	13	9
	Life Subscriptions ...	96	18	0			
	Annual Subscriptions ...	482	8	6			
	Entrance Fees ...	89	15	6			
	Books and Diplomas ...	64	10	0			
	Sundries	4	8	5			
					738	0	5
	Subscriptions paid twice, as per contra ...				2	2	0
					£758	16	2

	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d
1879. Nov. 1. to 1880. Oct. 31.	Rent	22	10	0			
	Fittings for Library ...	5	1	4			
					27	11	4
	Printing	137	13	4			
	Binding and delivery do.	44	17	2			
	Literary Transcription...	6	0	0			
					188	10	6
	Secretary and Historiographer	420	0	0			
	Librarian (Grafton Street)	5	0	0			
					425	0	0
	Stationery, Sundry Printing and Postages				50	15	11
	Reporting Proceedings...				7	7	0
	Bank Charges...				4	4	0
	Refreshments at Monthly Meetings ...				8	17	0
	Subscriptions refunded, as per contra ...				2	2	0
	,, paid to Harleian Society	1	1	0			
	,, paid to Camden Society	1	0	0			
	,, paid to Chetham Society	1	0	0			
					3	1	0
	Sundry incidental expenses				3	2	0
	Balance				38	5	5
					758	16	2

November 6th, 1880.

Audited and found correct.

WILLIAM ARCHBALD
JOHN RUSSELL
GEORGE HURST
} *Auditors.*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT of CASH ASSETS and OUTSTANDING LIABILITIES, on 31st October, 1880.

1880.	£	s.	d.	1880.		£	s.	d.
Oct. 31. Balance in hands of Treasurer ...	38	5	5	Oct. 31. J. & W. Rider for Printing ...		239	16	6
				McFarlane & Co. for Printing	£3 18			
				Do. Rules	4 6			
						8	4	0
				Chetham Society for Subscription, 1880		1	0	0
*Balance against the Society ...	216	0	1	Subscriptions twice paid ...		5	5	0
	£254	5	6			£254	5	6

* Besides the Liability to Fellows for Volume IX. for 1880, estimated at about £200.

WM. HERBAGE,

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT of RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS

From 1st November, 1880, to 12th May, 1881, the date of this Report.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account				38	5	5
Subscriptions received—						
Life Subscriptions	31	10	0			
Ordinary do, and Entrance Fees...	290	2	6			
Sale of Transactions	10	10	0			
				332	2	6
Balance due to Treasurer				72	14	0
				£443	1	11

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Liabilities outstanding 31st Oct., 1880, viz.—						
J. & W. Rider—Printing acc....	239	16	6			
McFarlane & Co.'s Printing acc....	8	4	0			
Subscriptions to the Chetham Society, 1880 .	1	0	0			
Subscriptions refunded	5	5	0			
				254	5	6
Liabilities contracted since 1st Nov., 1880—						
Rev. Dr. Rogers' Salary as Secretary to Jan. 5th, 1881	79	0	10			
Do. for Petty Expenditure to Jan. 5th, 1881	10	9	10			
				89	10	8
Rent to Lady-day, 1881	22	3	2			
Printing and Stationery	30	17	0			
Circulars, Postages, and Petty Expenses	23	19	7			
Advertisements ..	15	0	0			
Subscriptions—						
Camden Society	1	0	0			
Chetham do.	1	0	0			
Refreshments at Monthly Meetings	5	6	0			
				99	5	9
				£443	1	11

WM. HERBAGE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer.

It can hardly be doubted from the facts before mentioned, that the Society has entered on a new career of usefulness under the most favourable auspices, not the least of which is the remarkable unanimity between the reforms proposed by the Committee of Inquiry and those independently instituted by the Council; of equal importance is the cordiality with which the work of the Society has been noticed by the Press; and if the Members will continue to co-operate with the efforts of the Council as vigorously as they have done during the last four months, the Society must attain an influence worthy of its high name, and the important Science, the study of which it was instituted to promote.

By order,

G. G. ZERFFI, Ph.D., F.R.S.L.,

Chairman of the Council.

WM. HERBAGE, *Honorary Secretary.*

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